

MAN PAST AND PRESENT

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CHAPTER VIII

THE NORTHERN MONGOLS

Domain of the Mongolo-Turki Section—Early Contact with Caucasian Peoples—Primitive Man in Siberia—and Mongolia—Early Man in Korea and Japan—in Finland and East Europe—Early Man in Babylonia—The Sumerians—The Akkadians—Babylonian Chronology—Elamite Origins—Historical Records—Babylonian Religion—Social System—General Culture—The Mongols Proper—Physical Type—Ethnical and Administrative Divisions—Buddhism—The Tunguses—Cradle and Type—Mental Characters—Shamanism—The Manchus—Origins and Early Records—Type—The Dauri—Mongolo-Turki Speech—Language and Racial Characters—Mongol and Manchu Script—The Yukaghirs—A Primitive Writing System—Chukchis and Koryaks—Chukchi and Eskimo Relations—Type and Social State—Koryaks and Kamchadales—The Gilyaks—The Koreans—Ethnical Elements—Korean Origins and Records—Religion—The Korean Script—The Japanese—Origins—Constituent Elements—The Japanese Type—Japanese and Liu-Kiu Islanders—Their Languages and Religions—Cult of the Dead—Shintoism and Buddhism.

CONSPECTUS.

Present Range. *The Northern Hemisphere from Japan to Lapland, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Great Wall and Tibet; Aralo-Caspian Basin; Parts of Irania; Distribution. Asia Minor; Parts of East Russia, Balkan Peninsula, and Lower Danube.*

Hair, *generally the same as South Mongol, but in Mongolo-Caucasic transitional groups brown, chestnut, and even towy or light flaxen, also wavy and ringletty; beard mostly absent except amongst the Western Turks and some Koreans.*

Physical Characters. *Colour, light or dirty yellowish amongst all true Mongols and Siberians; very variable (white, sallow, swarthy) in the transitional groups (Finns, Lapps, Magyars, Bulgars, Western Turks), and many Manchus and Koreans; in Japan the unexposed parts of the body also white.*

Skull, *highly brachycephalic in the true Mongol (80 to 85); variable (sub-brachy and sub-dolicho) in most transitional groups and even some Siberians (Ostyaks and Voguls 77). Jaws, cheek-bones, nose, and eyes much the same as in South*

Mongols; but nose often large and straight, and eyes straight, greyish, or even blue in Finns, Manchus, Koreans, and some other Mongolo-Caucasians.

Stature, usually short (below 1·68 m., 5 ft. 6 in.), but many Manchus and Koreans tall, 1·728 m. to 1·778 m. (5 ft. 8 or 10 in.). **Lips, arms, legs, and feet**, usually the same as South Mongols; but Japanese legs disproportionately short.

Temperament, of all true Mongols and many Mongoloids, dull, reserved, somewhat sullen and apathetic; but in some groups (Finns, Japanese) active and energetic; nearly all brave, warlike, even fierce, and capable of great atrocities, though not normally cruel; within the historic period the character has almost everywhere undergone a marked change from a rude and ferocious to a milder and more humane disposition; ethical tone higher than South Mongol, with more developed sense of right and wrong.

**Mental
Characters.**

Speech, very uniform; apparently only one stock language (Finno-Tatar or Ural-Altaic Family), a highly typical agglutinating form with no prefixes, but numerous postfixes attached loosely to an unchangeable root, by which their vowels are modified in accordance with subtle laws of vocalic harmony; the chief members of the family (Finnish, Magyar, Turkish, Mongol, and especially Korean and Japanese) diverge greatly from the common prototype.

Religion, originally spirit-worship through a mediator (Shaman), perhaps everywhere, and still exclusively prevalent amongst Siberian and all other uncivilised groups; all Mongols proper, Manchus, and Koreans nominal Buddhists; all Turki peoples Moslem; Japanese Buddhists and Shintoists; Finns, Lapps, Bulgars, Magyars, and some Siberians real or nominal Christians.

Culture, rude and barbaric rather than savage amongst the Siberian aborigines, who are nearly all nomadic hunters and fishers with half-wild reindeer herds but scarcely any industries; the Mongols proper, Kirghiz, Uzbeks and Turkomans semi-nomadic pastors; the Anatolian and Balkan Turks, Manchus, and Koreans settled agriculturists, with scarcely any arts or letters and no science; Japanese, Finns, Bulgars and Magyars civilised up to, and in some respects beyond the European average (Magyar and Finnish literature, Japanese art).

Mongol Proper. Sharra (Eastern), Kal-mak (Western), Buryat (Siberian) Mongol.

Main Divisions.

Tungus. *Tungus proper, Manchu, Gold, Oroch, Lamut. Korean; Japanese and Liu-Kiu.*

Turki. *Yakut; Kirghiz; Uzbek; Taranchi; Kara-Kalpak; Nogai; Turkoman; Anatolian; Osmanli.*

Finno-Ugrian. *Baltic Finn; Lapp; Samoyed; Chere-
miss; Votyak; Vogul; Ostyak; Bulgar; Magyar.*

East Siberian. *Yukaghir; Chukchi; Koryak; Kam-
chadale; Gilyak.*

By "Northern Mongols" are here to be understood all those branches of the Mongol Division of mankind which are usually comprised under the collective geographical expression *Ural-Altaic*, to which corresponds the ethnical designation *Mongolo-Tatar*, or more properly *Mongolo-Turki*¹. Their domain is roughly separated from that of the Southern Mongols (Chap. VI.) by the Great Wall and the Kuen-lun range, beyond which it spreads out westwards over most of Western Asia, and a considerable part of North Europe, with many scattered groups in Central and South Russia, the Balkan Peninsula, and the Middle Danube basin. In the extreme north their territory stretches from the shores of the Pacific with Japan and parts of Sakhalin continually westwards across Korea, Siberia, Central and North Russia to Finland and Lapland. But its southern limits can be indicated only approximately by a line drawn from the Kuen-lun range westwards along the northern escarpments of the Iranian plateau, and round the southern shores of the Caspian to the Mediterranean. This line, however, must be drawn in such a way as to include Afghan Turkestan, much of the North Persian and Caucasian steppes, and nearly the whole of Asia Minor, while excluding Armenia, Kurdistan, and Syria.

Nor is it to be supposed that even within these limits the North Mongol territory is everywhere continuous. In East Europe especially, where they are for the most part comparatively recent intruders, the Mongols are found only in isolated and vanishing groups in the Lower and Middle Volga basin, the Crimea, and the North Caucasian steppe, and in more compact bodies in Rumelia, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Throughout all these districts, however, the process of absorption or assimilation to

¹ As fully explained in *Eth.* p. 303.

the normal European physical type is so far completed that many of the Nogai and other Russian "Tartars," as they are called, the Volga and Baltic Finns, the Magyars, and Osmanli Turks, would scarcely be recognised as members of the North Mongol family but for their common Finno-Turki speech, and the historic evidence by which their original connection with this division is established beyond all question.

In Central Asia also (North Irania, the Aralo-Caspian and Tarim basins) the Mongols have been in close contact with Caucasian peoples probably since the New Stone Age, and here intermediate types have been developed, by which an almost unbroken transition has been brought about between the yellow and the white races.

During recent years much light has been shed on the physiographical conditions of Central Asia in early times. Stein's¹ explorations in 1900-1 and 1906-8 in Chinese Turkestan, the Pumpelly Expeditions² in 1903 and 1904 in Russian Turkestan, the travels of Sven Hedin³ in 1899-1902, and 1906-8, of Carruthers⁴ in N.W. Mongolia, and the researches of Ellsworth Huntington⁵ (a member of the first Pumpelly Expedition) in 1905-7 all bear testimony to the variation in climate which the districts of Central Asia have undergone since glacial times. There has been a general trend towards arid conditions, alternating with periods of greater humidity, when tracts, now deserted, were capable of maintaining a dense population. Abundant evidence of man's occupation has been found in delta oases formed by snow-fed mountain streams, or on the banks of vanished rivers, where now-a-days all is desolation, though, as T. Peisker⁶ points out, climate was not the sole or even the main factor in many areas. In some places, as at Merv, the earliest occupation was only a few centuries before the Christian era, but at Anau near Ashkhabad some 300 miles east of the Caspian, explored by the Pumpelly Expedition, the earliest strata contained remains of Stone Age culture. The North

Primitive Man
in Siberia and
Mongolia.

¹ Mark Aurel Stein, *Sand-buried Cities of Khotan*, 1903, and *Geog. Journ.*, July, Sept. 1909.

² R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, 1905, and *Explorations in Turkestan; Expedition of 1904*, 1908.

³ Sven Hedin, *Scientific Results of a Journey in Central Asia, 1899-1902*, 1906, and *Geog. Journ.*, April, 1909.

⁴ Douglas Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, 1913 (with bibliography).

⁵ Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, 1910.

⁶ "The Asiatic Background," *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. I. 1911.

Kurgan or tumulus, rising some 40 or 50 feet above the plain, showed a definite stratification of structures in sun-dried bricks, raised by successive generations of occupants. H. Schmidt, who was in charge of the excavations, was able to collect a valuable series of potsherds, showing a gradual evolution in form, technique and ornamentation, from the earliest to the latest periods. One point of great significance for establishing cultural if not physical relationships in this obscure region is the resemblance between the geometrical designs on pots of the early period and similar pottery found by MM. Gautier and Lampre¹ at Mussian, and by M. J. de Morgan² at Susa, while clay figurines from the South Kurgan (copper culture) are clearly of Babylonian type, the influence of which is seen much later in terra-cotta figurines discovered by Stein³ at Yotkan.

With the progress of archaeological research, it becomes daily more evident that the whole of the North Mongol domain, from Finland to Japan, has passed through the Stone and Metal Ages, like most other habitable parts of the globe. During his wanderings in Siberia and Mongolia in the early nineties, Hans Leder⁴ came upon countless prehistoric stations, kurgans (barrows), stone circles, and many megalithic monuments of various types. In West Siberia the barrows, which consist solely of earth without any stone-work, are by the present inhabitants called *Chudskiye Kurgani*, "Chudish Graves," and, as in North Russia, this term "Chude" is ascribed to a now vanished unknown race which formerly inhabited the land. To them, as to the "Toltecs" in Central America, all ancient monuments are credited, and while some regard them as prehistoric Finns, others identify them with the historic Scythians, the Scythians of Herodotus.

There are reasons, however, for thinking that the Chudes may represent an earlier race; the men of the Stone Age, who, migrating from north Europe eastwards, had reached the Tom valley (which drains to the Obi) before the extinction of the mammoth, and later spread over the whole of northern Asia, leaving everywhere evidence of their presence in the megalithic monuments now being daily brought to light in East Siberia,

¹ *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse; Recherches archéologiques* (from 1899).

² *Sand-buried Cities of Khotan*, 1903.

³ "Ueber Alte Grabstätten in Sibirien und der Mongolei," in *Mitt. d. Anthropol. Ges.*, Vienna, 1895, xxv. 9.

Mongolia, Korea, and Japan. This view receives support from the characters of two skulls found in 1895 by A. P. Mostitz in one of the five prehistoric stations on the left bank of the Sava affluent of the Selenga river, near Ust-Kiakta in Trans-Baikalia. They differ markedly from the normal Buryat (Siberian Mongol) type, recalling rather the long-shaped skulls of the South Russian kurgans, with cephalic indices 73.2 and 73.5, as measured by M. J. D. Talko-Hryniewicz¹. Thus, in the very heart of the Mongol domain, the characteristically round-headed race would appear to have been preceded, as in Europe, by a long-headed type.

In East Siberia, and especially in the Lake Baikal region, Leder found extensive tracts strewn with kurgans, many of which have already been explored, and their contents deposited in the Irkutsk museum. Amongst these are great numbers of stone implements, and objects made of bone and mammoth tusks, besides carefully worked copper ware, betraying technical skill and some artistic taste in the designs. In Trans-Baikalia, still farther east, with the kurgans are associated the so-called *Kameni Babi*, "Stone Women," monoliths rough-hewn in the form of human figures. Many of these monoliths bear inscriptions, which, however, appear to be of recent date (mostly Buddhist prayers and formularies), and are not to be confounded with the much older rock inscriptions deciphered by W. Thomsen through the Turki language.

Continuing his investigations in Mongolia proper, Leder here also discovered earthen kurgans, which, however, differed from those of Siberia by being for the most part surmounted either with circular or rectangular stone structures, or else with monoliths. They are called *Kürüksür* by the present inhabitants, who hold them in great awe, and never venture to touch them. Unfortunately strangers also are unable to examine their contents, all disturbance of the ground with spade or shovel being forbidden under pain of death by the Chinese officials, for fear of awakening the evil spirits, now slumbering peacefully below the surface. The Siberian burial mounds have yielded no bronze, a fact which indicates considerable antiquity, although no date can be set for its introduction into these regions. Better evidence of antiquity is found in the climatic changes resulting in recent desiccation,

¹ Th. Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 82.

which must have taken place here as elsewhere, for the burials bear witness to the existence of a denser population than could be supported at the present time¹.

Such an antiquity is indeed required to explain the spread of neolithic remains to the Pacific seaboard, and especially to Korea and Japan. In Korea W. Gowland examined a dolmen 30 miles from Seoul, which he describes and figures², and which is remarkable especially for the disproportionate size of the capstone, a huge undressed megalith 14½ by over 13 feet. He refers to four or five others, all in the northern part of the peninsula, and regards them as "intermediate in form between a cist and a dolmen." But he thinks it probable that they were never covered by mounds, but always stood as monuments above ground, in this respect differing from the Japanese, the majority of which are all buried in tumuli. In some of their features these present a curious resemblance to the Brittany structures, but no stone implements appear to have been found in any of the burial mounds, and the Japanese chambered tombs, according to Hamada, Professor of Archaeology in Kyoto University, are usually attributed to the Iron Age (fifth to seventh centuries A.D.³).

In many districts Japan contains memorials of a remote past—shell mounds, cave-dwellings, and in Yezo certain pits, which are not occupied by the present Ainu population, but are by them attributed to the *Koro-pok-guru*, "People of the Hollows," who occupied the land before their arrival, and lived in huts built over these pits. Similar remains on an islet near Nemuro on the north-east coast of Yezo are said by the Japanese to have belonged to the *Kobito*, a dwarfish race exterminated by the Ainu, hence apparently identical with the *Koro-pok-guru*. They are associated by John Milne with some primitive peoples of the Kurile Islands, Sakhalin, and Kamchatka, who, like the Eskimo of the American coast, had extended formerly much farther south than at present.

¹ Too much stress must not, however, be laid upon the theory of gradual desiccation as a factor in depopulation. There are many causes such as earthquake, water-spouts, shifting of currents, neglect of irrigation and, above all, the work of enemies to account for the sand-buried ruins of populous cities in Central Asia. See T. Peisker, "The Asiatic Background," *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. I. 1911, p. 326.

² *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* 1895, p. 318 sq.

³ Cf. *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 6th Ser. XIV: Part I, 1914, p. 131, and *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* 1910, p. 601.

In a kitchen-midden, 330 by 200 feet, near Shiidzuka in the province of Ibaraki, the Japanese antiquaries S. Yagi and M. Shinomura¹ have found numerous objects belonging to the Stone Age of Japan. Amongst them were flint implements, worked bones, ashes, pottery, and a whole series of clay figures of human beings. The finders suggest that these remains may have belonged to a homogeneous race of the Stone Period, who, however, were not the ancestors of the Ainu—hitherto generally regarded as the first inhabitants of Japan. In the national records vague reference is made to other aborigines, such as the "Long Legs," and the "Eight Wild Tribes," described as the enemies of the first Japanese settlers in Kiu-shiu, and reduced by Jimmu Tenno, the semi-mythical founder of the present dynasty; the *Ebisu*, who are probably to be identified with the Ainu; and the *Seki-Manzi*, "Stone-Men," also located in the southern island of Kiu-shiu. The last-mentioned, of whom, however, little further is known, seem to have some claim to be associated with the above described remains of early man in Japan².

In the extreme west the present Mongol peoples, being quite recent intruders, can in no way be connected with the abundant prehistoric relics daily brought to light in that region (South Russia, the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary). The same remark applies even to Finland itself, which was at one time supposed to be the cradle of the Finnish people, but is now shown to have been first occupied by Germanic tribes. From an exhaustive study of the bronze-yielding tumuli A. Hackman³ concludes that the population of the Bronze Period was Teutonic, and in this he agrees both with Montelius and with W. Thomsen. The latter holds on linguistic grounds that at the beginning of the new era the Finns still dwelt east of the Gulf of Finland, whence they moved west in later times.

It is unfortunate that, owing probably to the character of the country, remains of the Stone Age in Babylonia are wanting so that no comparison can yet be made with the neolithic cultures of Egypt and the Aegean. The constant floods to which Babylonia was ever subject swept away all traces of early occupations until the advent of the Sumerians, who built

¹ "Zur Prähistorik Japans," *Globus*, 1896, No. 10.

² The best account of the archaeology of Japan will be found in *Prehistoric Japan*, by N. G. Munro, 1912.

³ *Die Bronzezeit Finnlands*, Helsingfors, 1897.

their cities on artificial mounds. The question of Akkado-Sumerian¹ origins is by no means clear, for many important cities are unexplored and even unidentified, but the general trend of recent opinion may be noted. The linguistic problem is peculiarly complicated by the fact that almost all the Sumerian texts show evidence of Semitic influence, and consist to a great extent of religious hymns and incantations which often appear to be merely translations of Semitic ideas turned by Semitic priests into the formal religious Sumerian language. J. Halévy, indeed, followed by others, regarded Sumerian as no true language, but merely a priestly system of cryptography², based on Semitic. As regards linguistic affinities, K. A. Hermann³ endeavoured to establish a connection between the early texts and Ural-Altaic, more especially with Ugro-Finnish. A more recent suggestion that the language is of Indo-European origin and structure rests on equally slight resemblances. The comparison with Chinese has already been noticed. J. D. Prince⁴ utters a word of caution against comparing ancient texts with idioms of more recent peoples of Western Asia, in spite of many tempting resemblances, and claims that until further light has been shed on the problem Sumerian should be regarded as standing quite alone, "a prehistoric philological remnant."

E. Meyer⁵ claims for the Sumerians not only linguistic but also physical isolation. The Sumerian type as represented on the monuments shows a narrow pointed nose, with straight bridge and small nostrils, cheeks and lips not fleshy, like the Semites, with prominent cheek-bones, small mouth, narrow lips finely curved, the lower jaw very short, with angular sharply projecting chin, oblique Mongolian eyes, low forehead, usually sloping away directly from the root of the nose. In fact the nose has almost the appearance of a bird's beak, projecting far in advance of mouth and chin, while the forehead almost disappears. The hair

¹ "Akkadian," first applied by Rawlinson to the non-Semitic texts found at Nineveh, is still often used by English writers in place of the more correct *Sumerian*, the Akkadians being now shown to be Semitic immigrants into Northern Babylonia (p. 264).

² Cf. L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, pp. 5, 6.

³ *Ueber die Summerische Sprache*, Paper read at the Russian Archaeological Congress, Riga, 1896.

⁴ "Sumer and Sumerian," *Ency. Brit.* 1911, with references.

⁵ *Geschichte des Altertums*, I. 2, 2nd ed. 1909, p. 404.

and beard are closely shaven. The Sumerians were undoubtedly a warlike people, fighting not like the Semites in loosely extended battle array, but in close phalanx, their large shields protecting their bodies from neck to feet, forming a rampart beyond which projected the inclined spears of the foremost rank. Battle axe and javelin were also used. Helmets protected head and neck. Besides lance or spear the royal leaders carried a curved throwing weapon, formed of three strands bound together at intervals with thongs of leather or bands of metal; this seems to have developed later into a sign of authority and hence into a sceptre. The bow, the typical weapon of the Semites and the mountainous people to the east, was unrepresented. The gods carried clubs with stone heads. It is important to notice that, in direct contrast to the Sumerians themselves, their gods had abundant hair on their heads, carefully curled and dressed, and a long curly beard on the chin, though cheeks and lips were closely shaven; these fashions recall those of the Semites. Thus, although the general view is to regard the Sumerians as the autochthones and the Semites as the later intruders in Babylonia, the Semitic character of the Sumerian gods points to an opposite conclusion. But the time has not yet come for any definite conclusion to be reached. All that can be said is that according to our present knowledge the assumption that the earliest population was Sumerian and that the Semites were the conquering intruders is only slightly more probable than the reverse¹.

Recent archaeological discoveries make Sumerian origins a little clearer. Explorations in Central Asia (as mentioned above p. 257) show that districts once well watered, and capable of supporting a large population, have been subject to periods of excessive drought, and this no doubt is the prime cause of the racial unrest which has ever been characteristic of the dwellers in these regions. A cycle of drought may well have prompted the Sumerian migration of the fourth millennium B.C., as it is shown to have prompted the later invasions of the last two thousand years². Although there is no evidence to connect the original home of the Sumerians with any of the

¹ E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i. 2, 2nd ed. 1909, p. 406. L. W. King (*History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910) discusses Meyer's arguments and points out that the earliest Sumerian gods appear to be free from Semitic influence (p. 51). He is inclined, however, to regard the Sumerians as displacing an earlier Semitic people (Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*, 1914, pp. 221 and 229).

² Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, 1910, p. 382.

oases yet excavated in Central Asia, yet signs of cultural contact are not wanting, and it may safely be inferred that their civilisation was evolved in some region to the east of the Euphrates valley before their entrance into Babylonia¹.

Since Semitic influence was first felt in the north of Babylonia, at Akkad, it is assumed that the immigration was from the north-west from Arabia by way of the The Akkadians.

Syrian coastlands, and in this case also the impulse may have been the occurrence of an arid period in the centre of the Arabian continent. The Semites are found not as barbarian invaders, but as a highly cultivated people. They absorbed several cultural elements of the Sumerians, notably their script, and were profoundly influenced by Sumerian religion. The Akkadians are represented with elaborately curled hair and beard, and hence, in contradistinction to the shaven Sumerians, are referred to as "the black-headed ones." Their chief weapon was the bow, but they had also lances and battle axes. As among the Sumerians the sign of kingship was a boomerang-like sceptre². Except for Babylon and Sippar, which throw little light on the early periods, no systematic excavation has been undertaken in northern Babylonia, and the site of Akkad is still unidentified.

The chronology of this early age of Babylonia is much disputed. The very high dates of 5000 or 6000 B.C. formerly assigned by many writers to the earliest remains of the Sumerians and the Babylonian Semites, depended to a great extent on the statement of Nabonidus (556 B.C.) that 3200 years separated his own age from that of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon of Agade; for to Sargon, on this statement alone, a date of 3800 has usually been assigned³. This date presents many difficulties, leaving many centuries unrepresented by any royal names or records. Even the suggested emendation of the text reducing the estimate by a thousand years is not generally acceptable. Most authorities hesitate to date any Babylonian records before 3000 B.C.⁴ and agree that the time has not arrived for fixing any definite dates for the early period.

¹ L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, p. 357.

² E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i. 2, 2nd ed. 1909, p. 463.

³ L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, p. 61, and the article, "Chronology. Babylonia and Assyria," *Ency. Brit.* 1911. Cf. also E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i. 2, 2nd ed. 1909, §§ 329 and 383.

⁴ The cylinder-seals and tablets of Fara, excavated by Koldewey, Andrae and Noeldeke in 1902-3 may go back to 3400 B.C. Cf. L. W. King, *loc. cit.* p. 65.

Despite the legendary matter associated with his memory, Shar-Gani-sharri, commonly called Sargon of Akkad, about 2500 B.C. (Meyer), 2650 B.C. (King), was beyond question a historical person though it seems that there has been some confusion with Sharru-gi, or Sharrukin, also called Sargon, earliest king of Kish¹. Tradition records how his mother, a royal princess, concealed his birth by placing him in a rush basket closed with bitumen and sending him adrift on the stream, from which he was rescued by Akki the water-carrier, who brought him up as his own child. The incident, about which there is nothing miraculous, presents a curious parallel to, if it be not the source of, similar tales related of Moses, Cyrus, and other ancient leaders of men. Sargon also tells us that he ruled from his capital, Agade, for 45 years over Upper and Lower Mesopotamia, governed the black-headed ones, as the Akkads are constantly called, rode in bronze chariots over rugged lands, and made expeditions thrice to the sea-coast. The expeditions are confirmed by inscriptions from Syria, though the cylinder of his son, Naram-Sin, found by Cesnola in Cyprus, is now regarded as of later date². As they also penetrated to Sinai their influence appears to have extended over the whole of Syria and North Arabia. They erected great structures at Nippur, which was at that time so ancient that Naram-Sin's huge brick platform stood on a mass 30 feet thick of the accumulated debris of earlier buildings. Among the most interesting of recent discoveries at Nippur are pre-Semitic tablets containing accounts similar to those recorded in the book of Genesis, from which in some cases the latter have clearly been derived. The "Deluge Fragment" published in 1910 relates the warning given by the god Ea to Utnapishtim, the Babylonian Noah, and the directions for building a ship by means of which he and his family may escape, together with the beasts of the field and the birds of heaven³. A still later discovery agrees more closely with the Bible version, giving the name of the one pious man as Tagtog, Semitic Nûhu, and assigning nine months as the period of the duration of the flood. The same tablet also contains an account of the

¹ C. H. W. Johns, *Ancient Babylonia*, 1913, regards Sharrukin as "Sargon of Akkad," p. 39.

² L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, pp. 234, 343, where the seal is referred to a period not much earlier than the First Dynasty of Babylon.

³ H. V. Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series D, Vol. v. i. 1910.

Fall of Man; but it is Noah, not Adam, who is tempted and falls, and the forbidden fruit is cassia¹.

Sennacherib's grandson, Ashurbanipal, who belongs to the late Assyrian empire when the centre of power had been shifted from Babylonia to Nineveh, has left recorded on his brick tablets how he overran Elam and destroyed its capital, Susa (645 B.C.). He states that from this place he brought back the effigy of the goddess Nana, which had been carried away from her temple at Erech by an Elamite king by whom Akkad had been conquered 1635 years before, *i.e.* 2280 B.C. Over Akkad Elam ruled 300 years, and it was a king of this dynasty, Khudur-Lagamar, who has been identified by T. G. Pinches with the "Chedorlaomer, king of Elam" routed by Abraham (Gen. xiv. 14-17)². Thus is explained the presence of Elamites at this time so far west as Syria, their own seat being amid the Kurdish mountains in the Upper Tigris basin.

The Elamites do not appear to have been of the same stock as the Sumerians. They are described as peaceful, industrious, and skilful husbandmen, with a surprising knowledge of irrigating processes. The non-Semitic language shows possible connections with Mitanni³. Yet the type would appear to be on the whole rather Semitic, judging at least from the large arched nose and thick beard of the Susian god, Ramman, brought by Ashurbanipal out of Elam, and figured in Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st Series, Plate 65. This, however, may be explained by the fact that the Elamites were subdued at an early date by intruding Semites, although they afterwards shook off the yoke and became strong enough to conquer Mesopotamia and extend their expeditions to Syria and the Jordan. The capital of Elam was the renowned city of Susa (Shushan, whence Susiana, the modern Khuzistan). Recent

¹ See *The Times*, June 24, 1914.

² "Babylonia and Elam Four Thousand Years Ago," in *Knowledge*, May 1, 1896, p. 116 sq. and elsewhere.

³ The term "Elam" is said to have the same meaning as "Akkad" (*i.e.* High-land) in contradistinction to "Sumer" (Lowland). It should be noted that neither Akkad nor Sumer occurs in the oldest texts, where Akkad is called *Kish* from the name of its capital, and Sumer *Kiengi* (*Kengi*), probably a general name meaning "the land." Kish has been identified with the Kush of Gen. x., one of the best abused words in Paethnology. For this identification, however, there is some ground, seeing that Kush is mentioned in the closest connection with "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar" (Mesopotamia) *v.* 10.

excavations show that the settlement dates from neolithic times¹.

Even after the capture of Susa by Ashurbanipal, Elam again rose to great power under Cyrus the Great, who, however, was no Persian adventurer, as stated by Herodotus, but the legitimate Elamite ruler, as inscribed on his cylinder and tablet now in the British Museum:—"Cyrus, the great king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumir and Akkad, the king of the four zones, the son of Kambyses, the great king, the king of Elam, the grandson of Cyrus the great king," who by the favour of Merodach has overcome the black-headed people (*i.e.* the Akkads) and at last entered Babylon in peace. On an earlier cylinder Nabonidus, last king of Babylon, tells us how this same Cyrus subdued the Medes—here called *Mandas*, "Barbarians"—and captured their king Astyages and his capital Ekbatana. But although Cyrus, hitherto supposed to be a Persian and a Zoroastrian monotheist, here appears as an Elamite and a polytheist, "it is pretty certain that although descended from Elamite kings, these were [at that time] kings of Persian race, who, after the destruction of the old [Elamite] monarchy by Ashurbanipal, had established a new dynasty at the city of Susa. Cyrus always traces his descent from Achæmenes, the chief of the leading Persian clan of Pasargadæ²." Hence although wrong in speaking of Cyrus as an adventurer, Herodotus rightly calls him a Persian, and at this late date Elam itself may well have been already Aryanised in speech³, while still retaining its old Sumerian religion. The

¹ J. de Morgan, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, 1899-1906.

² S. Laing, *Human Origins*, p. 74.

³ And it has remained so ever since, the present Lur and Bakhtiari inhabitants of Susiana speaking, not the standard Neo-Persian, but dialects of the ruder Kurdish branch of the Iranian family, as if they had been Aryanised from Media, the capital of which was Ekbatana. We have here, perhaps, a clue to the origin of the Medes themselves, who were certainly the above-mentioned Mandas of Nabonidus, their capital being also the same Ekbatana. Now Sayce (*Academy*, Sept. 7, 1895, p. 189) identified the Kimmerians with these Manda nomads, whose king Tukdamme (Tugdammé) was the Lygdanis of Strabo (1. 3, 16), who led a horde of Kimmerians into Lydia and captured Sardis. We know from Esarhaddon's inscriptions that by the Assyrians these Kimmerians were called Manda, their prince Teupsa (Teispe) being described as "of the people of the Manda." An oracle given to Esarhaddon begins: "The Kimmerian in the mountains has set fire in the land of Ellip," *i.e.* the land where Ekbatana was afterwards founded, which is now shown to have already been occupied by the Kimmerian or Manda hordes. It follows that Kimmerians, Mandas, Medes with their modern Kurd and Bakhtiari representatives, were all one people, who were almost certainly of Aryan speech, if not actually of proto-Aryan stock. "The Kurds are the descendants of Aryan invaders and have maintained their type and their language for more than

Babylonian pantheon survived, in fact, till the time of Darius Hystaspes, who introduced Zoroastrianism with its supreme gods, Ahura-Mazda, creator of all good, and Ahriman, author of all evil.

It is now possible to gain some idea of the gradual growth of the city states of Babylonia. Beginning with a mere collection of rude reed huts, these were succeeded by
Babylonian Religion. structures of sun-dried bricks, built in a group for mutual protection, probably around a centre of a local god, and surrounded by a wall. The land around the settlement was irrigated by canals, and here the corn and vegetables were grown and the flocks and herds were tended for the maintenance of the population. The central figure was always the god, who occasionally gave his name to the site, and who was the owner of all the land, the inhabitants being merely his tenants who owed him rent for their estates. It was the god who waged wars with the neighbours, and with whom treaties were made. The treaty between Lagash and Umma fixing the limitations of their boundaries, a constant matter of dispute, was made by Ningirsu, god of Lagash, and the city god of Umma, under the arbitration of Enlil, the chief of the gods, whose central shrine was at Nippur.

With the growth of the cities disputes of territory were sure to arise, and either by conquest or amalgamation, cities became absorbed into states. The problem then was the adjustment of the various city gods, each reigning supreme in his own city, but taking a higher or lower place in the Babylonian pantheon. When one city gained a supremacy over all its neighbours, its governor might assume the title of king. But the king was merely the *patesi*, the steward of the city god. Even when the supremacy was sufficiently permanent for the establishment of a dynasty, this was a dynasty of the city rather than of a family, for the successive kings were not necessarily of the same family¹.

Among the city gods who developed into powerful deities were Anu of Uruk (Erech), Enlil of Nippur and Ea of Eridu (originally a sea-port). These became the supreme triad, Anu ruling over the heavens, enthroned on the northern pole, as

3300 years," F. v. Luschan, "The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xli. 1911, p. 230. For a classification of Kurds see Mark Sykes, "The Kurdish Tribes of the Ottoman Empire," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxviii. 1908, p. 451. Cf. also D. G. Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, 1902.

¹ C. H. W. Johns, *Ancient Babylonia*, 1913, p. 27.

king and father of the gods; Enlil, the Semitic Bel, god of earth, lord of the lands, formerly chief of all the gods; and Ea, god of the water-depths, whose son was ultimately to eclipse his father as Marduk of Babylon. A second triad is composed of the local deities who developed into Sin, the moon-god of Ur, Shamash the sun-god of Larsa, and the famous Ishtar, the great mother, goddess of love and queen of heaven. The realm of the dead was a dark place under the earth, where the dead lived as shadows, eating the dust of the earth. Their lot depended partly on their earlier lives, and partly on the devotion of their surviving relatives. Although their dead kings were deified there seems to be no evidence for a belief in a general resurrection or in the transmigration of souls. The hymns and prayers to the gods however show a very high religious level in spite of the important part played by soothsaying and exorcism, relics of earlier culture. The permanence of these may be partly ascribed to the essentially theocratic character of Babylonian government. The king was merely the agent of the god, whose desires were interpreted by the priestly soothsayers and exorcists, and no action could be undertaken in worldly or in religious concerns without their superintendence. The kings occasionally attempted to free themselves from the power of the priests, but the attempt was always vain. The power of the priests had often a sound economic basis, for the temples of the great cities were centres of vast wealth and of far-reaching trade, as is proved by the discovery of the commercial contracts stored in the temple archives¹.

How the family expands through the clan and tribe into the nation, is clearly seen in the Babylonian social system, in which the inhabitants of each city were still
 "divided into clans, all of whose members claimed Social System.
 to be descended from a common ancestor who had flourished at a more or less remote period. The members of each clan were by no means all in the same social position, some having gone down in the world, others having raised themselves; and amongst them we find many different callings—from agricultural labourers to scribes, and from merchants to artisans. No natural tie existed among the majority of these members except the remembrance of their common origin, perhaps also

¹ Cf. H. Zimmern, article "Babylonians and Assyrians," *Ency. Religion and Ethics*, 1909.

a common religion, and eventual rights of succession or claims upon what belonged to each one individually¹." The god or goddess, it is suggested, who watched over each man, and of whom each was the son, was originally the god or goddess of the clan (its totem). So also in Egypt, the members of the community were all supposed to come of the same stock (*páit*), and to belong to the same family (*páitu*), whose chiefs (*ropáitu*) were the guardians of the family, several groups of such families being under a *ropáitú-há*, or head chief².

Amongst the local institutions, it is startling to find a fully developed ground-landlord system, though not quite so bad as that still patiently endured in England, already flourishing ages ago in Babylonia. "The cost of repairs fell usually on the lessee, who was also allowed to build on the land he had leased, in which case it was declared free of all charges for a period of about ten years; but the house and, as a rule, all he had built, then reverted to the landlord³."

In many other respects great progress had been made, and it is the belief of von Ihring⁴, Hommel⁵ and others that from

General Culture. Babylonia was first diffused a knowledge of

letters, astronomy, agriculture, navigation, architecture, and other arts, to the Nile valley, and mainly through Egypt to the Western World, and through Irania to China and India. In this generalisation there is probably a large measure of truth, although it will be seen farther on that the Asiatic origin of Egyptian culture is still far from being proved⁶.

One element the two peoples certainly had in common—a highly developed agricultural system, which formed the foundation of their greatness, and was maintained in a rainless climate by a stupendous system of irrigation works. Such works were carried out on a prodigious scale by the ancient Babylonians six or eight thousand years ago. The plains of the Lower Euphrates and Tigris, since rendered desolate under Turkish misrule, are intersected by the remains of an intricate network of canalisation covering all the space between the two rivers, and are strewn with the ruins of many great cities, whose inhabitants, numbering scores of thousands, were

¹ G. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 733.

² *Ibid.* p. 71.

³ *Ibid.* p. 752.

⁴ *Vorgeschichte*, etc., Book II. *passim*.

⁵ *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*.

⁶ G. Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations, Egypt, Syria and Assyria*, 1910.

supported by the produce of a highly cultivated region, which is now an arid waste varied only by crumbling mounds, stagnant waters, and the camping-grounds of a few Arab tent-dwellers.

Those who attach weight to distinctive racial qualities have always found a difficulty in attributing this wonderful civilisation to the same Mongolic people, who in their own homes have scarcely anywhere advanced beyond the hunting, fishing, or pastoral states. But it has always to be remembered that man, like all other zoological forms, necessarily reflects the character of his environment. The Mongols might in time become agriculturalists in the alluvial Mesopotamian lands, though the kindred people who give their name to the whole ethnical division and present its physical characters in an exaggerated form, ever remain tented nomads on the dry Central Asiatic steppe, which yields little but herbage, and is suitable for tillage only in a few more favoured districts. Here the typical Mongols, cut off from the arable lands of South Siberia by the Tian-shan and Altai ranges, and to some extent denied access to the rich fluvial valleys of the Middle Kingdom by the barrier of the Great Wall, have for ages led a pastoral life in the inhabitable tracts and oases of the Gobi wilderness and the Ordos region within the great bend of the Hoang-ho. During the historic period these natural and artificial ramparts have been several times surmounted by fierce Mongol hordes, pouring like irresistible flood-waters over the whole of China and many parts of Siberia, and extending their predatory or conquering expeditions across the more open northern plains westwards nearly to the shores of the Atlantic. But such devastating torrents, which at intervals convulsed and caused dislocations amongst half the settled populations of the globe, had little effect on the tribal groups that remained behind. These continued and continue to occupy the original camping-grounds, as changeless and uniform in their physical appearance, mental characters, and social usages as the Arab bedouins and all other inhabitants of monotonous undiversified steppe lands.

*The Mongols
Proper.*

De Ujfalvy's suggestion that the typical Mongols of the plains, with whom we are now dealing, were originally a long-headed race, can scarcely be taken seriously. At present and, in fact, throughout historic times, all

Physical Type.

true Mongol peoples are and have been distinguished by a high degree of brachycephaly, with cephalic index generally from 87 upwards, and it may be remembered that the highest known index of any undeformed skull was that of Huxley's Mongol (98·21). But, as already noticed, those recovered from prehistoric, or neolithic kurgans, are found to be dolichocephalous like those of palæolithic and early neolithic man in Europe.

Taken in connection with the numerous prehistoric remains above recorded from all parts of Central Asia and Siberia, this fact may perhaps help to bring de Ujfalvy's view into harmony with the actual conditions. Everything will be explained by assuming that the proto-Mongolic tribes, spreading from the Tibetan plateau over the plains now bearing their name, found that region already occupied by the long-headed Caucasian peoples of the Stone Ages, whom they either exterminated or drove north to the Altai uplands, and east to Manchuria and Korea, where a strong Caucasian strain still persists. De Ujfalvy's long-heads would thus be, not the proto-Mongols who were always round-headed, but the long-headed neolithic pre-Mongol race expelled by them from Mongolia who may provisionally be termed proto-Nordics.

That this region has been their true home since the first migrations from the south there can be no doubt. Here land

**Ethnical and
Administrative
Divisions.**

and people stand in the closest relation one to the other; here every conspicuous physical feature recalls some popular memory; every rugged crest is associated with the name of some national hero, every lake or stream is still worshipped or held in awe as a local deity, or else the abode of the ancestral shades. Here also the Mongols proper form two main divisions, *Sharna* in the east and *Kalmuk* in the west, while a third group, the somewhat mixed *Buryats*, have long been settled in the Siberian provinces of Irkutsk and Trans-Baikalia. Under the Chinese semi-military administration all except the Buryats, who are Russian subjects, are constituted since the seventeenth century in 41 *Aimaks* (large tribal groups or principalities with hereditary khans) and 226 *Koshungs*, "Banners," that is, smaller groups whose chiefs are dependent on the khans of their respective Aimaks, who are themselves directly responsible to the imperial government. Subjoined is a table of these administrative divisions, which present a curious

but effective combination of the tribal and political systems, analogous to the arrangement in Pondoland and some other districts in Cape Colony, where the hereditary tribal chief assumes the functions of a responsible British magistrate.

Tribal or Territorial Divisions	Aimaks (Principalities)	Koshungs (Banners)
Khalkas	4	86
Inner Mongolia with Ordos	25	51
Chakars	1	8
Ala-Shan	1	3
Koko-nor and Tsaidam	5	29
Sungaria	4	32
Uriankhai	1	17
	<hr/> 41	<hr/> 226

Since their organisation in Aimaks and Koshungs, the Mongols have ceased to be a terror to the surrounding peoples. The incessant struggles between these tented warriors and the peaceful Chinese populations, which began long before the dawn of history, were brought to a close with the overthrow of the Sungarian power in the eighteenth century, when their political cohesion was broken, and the whole nation reduced to a state of abject helplessness, from which they cannot now hope to recover. The arm of Chinese rule could be replaced only by the firmer grip of the northern autocrat, whose shadow already lies athwart the Gobi wilderness.

Thus the only escape from the crushing monotony of a purely pastoral life, no longer relieved by intervals of warlike or predatory expeditions, lies in a survival of the old Shamanist superstitions, or a further development of the degrading Tibetan lamaism represented at Urga by the *Kutukhtu*, an incarnation of the Buddha only less revered than the Dalai Lama himself¹. Besides this High Priest at Urga, there are over a hundred smaller incarnations—*Gigens*, as they are called—and these saintly beings possess unlimited means of plundering their votaries. The smallest favour, the touch of their garments, a pious ejaculation or blessing, is

Buddhism.

¹ It is noteworthy that *Dalai*, "Ocean," is itself a Mongol word, though *Lama*, "Priest," is Tibetan. The explanation is that in the thirteenth century a local incarnation of Buddha was raised by the then dominant Mongols to the first rank, and this title of *Dalai Lama*, the "Ocean Priest," i.e. the Priest of fathomless wisdom, was bestowed on one of his successors in the sixteenth century, and still retained by the High Pontiff at Lhasa.

regarded as a priceless spiritual gift, and must be paid for with costly offerings. Even the dead do not escape these exactions. However disposed of, whether buried or cremated, like the khans and lamas, or exposed to beasts and birds of prey, as is the fate of the common folk, "masses," which also command a high price, have to be said for forty days to relieve their souls from the torments of the Buddhist purgatory.

It is a singular fact, which, however, may perhaps admit of explanation, that nearly all the true Mongol peoples have been Buddhists since the spread of Sakya-Muni's teachings throughout Central Asia, while their Turki kinsmen are zealous followers of the Prophet. Thus is seen, for instance, the strange spectacle of two Mongolic groups, the Kirghiz of the Turki branch and the Kalmuks of the West Mongol branch, encamped side by side on the Lower Volga plains, the former all under the banner of the Crescent, the latter devout worshippers of all the incarnations of Buddha. But analogous phenomena occur amongst the European peoples, the Teutons being mainly Protestants, those of neo-Latin speech mainly Roman Catholics, and the Easterns Orthodox. From all this, however, nothing more can be inferred than that the religions are partly a question of geography, partly determined by racial temperament and political conditions; while the religious sentiment, being universal, is above all local or ethnical considerations.

Under the first term of the expression *Mongolo-Turki* (p. 256) are comprised, besides the Mongols proper, nearly all those branches of the division which lie to the east and north-east of Mongolia, and are in most respects more closely allied with the Mongol than with the Turki section. Such are the *Tunguses*, with the kindred *Manchus*, *Golds*, *Orochons*, *Lamuts*, and others of the Amur basin, the Upper Lena head-streams, the eastern affluents of the Yenisei, and the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk; the *Gilyaks* about the Amur estuary and in the northern parts of Sakhalin; the *Kamchadales* in South Kamchatka; in the extreme north-east the *Koryaks*, *Chukchis*, and *Yukaghirs*; lastly the *Koreans*, *Japanese*, and *Liu-Kiu* (*Lu-Chu*) *Islanders*. To the Mongol section thus belong nearly all the peoples lying between the Yenisei and the Pacific (including most of the adjacent archipelagos), and between the Great Wall and the Arctic Ocean. The only two exceptions are the *Yakuts* of the middle and Lower Lena and

neighbouring Arctic rivers, who are of Turki stock; and the *Ainus* of Yezo, South Sakhalin, and some of the Kurile Islands, who belong to the Caucasian division.

M. A. Czaplicka proposes a useful classification of the various peoples of Siberia, usually grouped on account of linguistic affinities as Ural-Altaians, and as "no other part of the world presents a racial problem of such complexity and in regard to no other part of the world's inhabitants have ethnologists of the last hundred years put forward such widely differing hypotheses of their origin¹," her tabulation may serve to clear the way. She divides the whole area² into *Palaeo-Siberians*, representing the most ancient stock of dwellers in Siberia, and *Neo-Siberians*, comprising the various tribes of Central Asiatic origin who are sufficiently differentiated from the kindred peoples of their earlier homes as to deserve a generic name of their own. The Palaeo-Siberians thus include the *Chukchi*, *Koryak*, *Kamchadale*, *Ainu*, *Gilyak*, *Eskimo*, *Aleut*, *Yukaghir*, *Chuvany* and *Ostyak* of Yenisei. The Neo-Siberians include the Finnic Tribes (Ugrian *Ostyak*, and *Vogul*), Samoyedic Tribes, Turkic Tribes (*Yakut* and *Turko-Tatars* of Tobolsk and Tomsk Governments), Mongolic Tribes (Western Mongols or *Kalmuk*, Eastern Mongols, and *Buryat*), and Tungusic Tribes (*Tungus*, *Chapogir*, *Gold*, *Lamut*, *Manchu*, *Manyarg*, *Oroch*, *Orochon* ("Reindeer Tungus"), *Oroke*).

A striking illustration of the general statement that the various cultural states are a question not of race, but of environment, is afforded by the varying social conditions of the widespread Tungus family, who The Tunguses. are fishers on the Arctic coast, hunters in the East Siberian woodlands, and for the most part sedentary tillers of the soil and townspeople in the rich alluvial valleys of the Amur and its southern affluents. The Russians, from whom we get the term Tungus³, recognise these various pursuits, and speak of

¹ *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, p. 13.

² *Loc. cit.* pp. 18-21.

³ Either from the Chinese *Tungshu*, "Eastern Barbarians," or from the Turki *Tinghis*, as in Isaac Massa: *per interpretes se Tingoesi vocari dixerunt* (*Descriptio*, etc., Amsterdam, 1612). But there is no collective national name, and at present they call themselves *Don-ki*, *Boia*, *Bote*, etc., terms all meaning "Men," "People." In the Chinese records they are referred to under the name of *I-lu* so early as 263 A.D., when they dwelt in the forest region between the Upper Temen and Yalu rivers on the one hand and the Pacific Ocean on the other, and paid tribute in kind—sable furs, bows, and stone arrow-heads. Arrows and stone arrow-heads were also the tribute paid to the emperors of the Shang dynasty (1766-1154 B.C.) by the *Su-shen*, who dwelt north of the Liao-tung peninsula, so that we have here official proof of a Stone Age of long duration in Manchuria. Later, the Chinese

Horse, Cattle, Reindeer, Dog, Steppe, and Forest Tunguses, besides the settled farmers and stock-breeders of the Amur.

**Cradle and
Type.**

Their original home appears to have been the Shan-alin uplands, where they dwelt with the kindred *Niu-chi* (Manchus) till the thirteenth century, when the disturbances brought about by the wars and conquests of Jenghiz-Khan drove them to their present seat in East Siberia. The type, although essentially Mongolic in the somewhat flat features, very prominent cheek-bones, slant eyes, long lank hair, yellowish brown colour and low stature, seems to show admixture with a higher race in the shapely frame, the nimble, active figure, and quick, intelligent expression, and especially in the variable skull. While generally round (indices 80° to 84°), the head is sometimes flat on the top, like that of the true Mongol, sometimes high and short, which, as Hamy tells us, is specially characteristic of the Turki race¹.

All observers speak in enthusiastic language of the temperament and moral qualities of the Tunguses, and particularly of those groups that roam the forests about the Tunguska tributaries of the Yenisei, which take their name from these daring hunters and trappers.

**Mental
Characters.**

"Full of animation and natural impulse, always cheerful even in the deepest misery, holding themselves and others in like respect, of gentle manners and poetic speech, obliging without servility, unaffectedly proud, scorning falsehood, and indifferent to suffering and death, the Tunguses are unquestionably an heroic people²."

A few have been brought within the pale of the Orthodox Church, and in the extreme south some are classed as Buddhists.

Shamanism.

But the great bulk of the Tungus nation are still Shamanists. Indeed the very word *Shaman* is of Tungus origin, though current also amongst the Buryats and Yakuts. It is often taken to be the equivalent of priest; but in point of fact it represents a stage in the development of natural religion which has scarcely yet reached the sacerdotal

chronicles mention the *U-ki* or *Mo-ho*, a warlike people of the Sungari valley and surrounding uplands, who in the 7th century founded the kingdom of *Pu-hai*, overthrown in 925 by the Khitans of the Lower Sungari below its Noni confluence, who were themselves Tunguses and according to some Chinese authorities the direct ancestors of the Manchus.

¹ "C'est la tendance de la tête à se développer en hauteur, juste en sens inverse de l'aplatissement vertical du Mongol. La tête du Turc est donc à la fois plus haute et plus courte" (*L'Anthropologie*, VI. 3, p. 8).

² Reclus, VI.; Eng. ed. p. 360.

state. "Although in many cases the shamans act as priests, and take part in popular and family festivals, prayers, and sacrifices, their chief importance is based on the performance of duties which distinguish them sharply from ordinary priests¹." Their functions are threefold, those of the medicine-man (the leech, or healer by supernatural means); of the soothsayer (the prophet through communion with the invisible world); and of the priest, especially in his capacity as exorcist, and in his general power to influence, control, or even coerce the good and evil spirits on behalf of their votaries. But as all spirits are, or were originally, identified with the souls of the departed, it follows that in its ultimate analysis Shamanism resolves itself into a form of ancestry-worship.

The system, of which there are many phases reflecting the different cultural states of its adherents, still prevails amongst all the Siberian aborigines², and generally amongst all the uncivilised Ural-Altaic populations, so that here again the religions strictly reflect the social condition of the peoples. Thus the somewhat cultured Finns, Turks, Mongols, and Manchus are all either Christians, Muhammadans, or Buddhists; while the uncultured but closely related Samoyeds, Ostyaks, Orochons, Tunguses, Golds, Gilyaks, Koryaks, and Chukchi, are almost without exception Shamanists.

The shamans do not appear to constitute a special caste or sacerdotal order, like the hierarchies of the Christian Churches. Some are hereditary, some elected by popular vote, so to say. They may be either men, or women (*shamanka*), married or single; and if "rank" is spoken of, it simply means greater or less proficiency in the performance of the duties imposed on them. Everything thus depends on their personal merits, which naturally gives rise to much jealousy between the members of the craft. Thus amongst the "whites" and the "blacks," that is, those whose dealings are with the good and the bad spirits respectively, there is in some districts a standing feud, often resulting in fierce encounters and bloodshed. The Buryats tell how the two factions throw axes at each other at great distances, the struggle usually ending in the death of one of the combatants. The blacks, who serve the evil spirits,

¹ V. M. Mikhailovskii, *Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia*, translated by Oliver Wardrop, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* 1895, p. 91.

² M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914. Part III. discusses Shamanism, pp. 166-255.

bringing only disease, death, or ill-luck, and even killing people by eating up their souls, are of course the least popular, but also the most dreaded. Many are credited with extraordinary and even miraculous powers, and there can be no doubt that they often act up to their reputation by performing almost incredible conjuring tricks in order to impose on the credulity of the ignorant, or outbid their rivals for the public favour. Old Richard Johnson of Chancelour's expedition to Muscovy records how he saw a Samoyed shaman stab himself with a sword, then make the sword red hot and thrust it through his body, so that the point protruded at the back, and Johnson was able to touch it with his finger. They then bound the wizard tight with a reindeer-rope, and went through some performances curiously like those of the Davenport brothers and other modern conjurers¹.

To the much-discussed question whether the shamans are impostors, the best answer has perhaps been given by Castrèn, who, speaking of the same Samoyed magicians, remarks that if they were merely cheats, we should have to suppose that they did not share the religious beliefs of their fellow-tribesmen, but were a sort of rationalists far in advance of the times. Hence it would seem much more probable that they deceived both themselves and others², while no doubt many bolster up a waning reputation by playing the mountebank where there is no danger of detection.

"Shamanism amongst the Siberian peoples," concludes our Russian authority, "is at the present time in a moribund condition; it must die out with those beliefs among which alone such phenomena can arise and flourish. Buddhism on the one hand, and Muhammadanism on the other, not to mention Christianity, are rapidly destroying the old ideas of the tribes among whom the shamans performed. Especially has the more ancient Black Faith suffered from the Yellow Faith preached by the lamas. But the shamans, with their dark mysterious rites, have made a good struggle for life, and are still frequently found among the native Christians and Muhammadans. The mullahs and lamas have even been obliged to become shamans to a great extent, and many Siberian tribes, who are nominally Christians, believe in shamans, and have recourse to them."

¹ Hakluyt, 1809 ed., I. p. 317 sq.

² Quoted by Mikhailovskii, p. 144.

Of all members of the Tungusic family the Manchus alone can be called a historical people. If they were really descended from the *Khitans* of the Sungari valley, then their authentic records will date from the tenth century A.D., when these renowned warriors, after overthrowing the Pu-hai (925), founded the Liao dynasty and reduced a great part of North China and surrounding lands. The *Khitans*, from whom China was known to Marco Polo as *Khitai* (Cathay), as it still is to the Russians, were conquered in 1125 by the *Niu-chi* (*Yu-chi*, *Nu-chin*) of the Shan-alin uplands, reputed cradle of the Manchu race. These *Niu-chi*, direct ancestors of the Manchus, founded the State known as that of the "Golden Tartars," from *Kin*, "gold," the title adopted by their chief Aguta, "because iron (in reference to the *Liao*, 'Iron' dynasty) may rust, but gold remains ever pure and bright." The *Kins*, however, retained their brightness only a little over a century, having been eclipsed by Jenghiz-Khan in 1234. But about the middle of the fourteenth century the *Niu-chi* again rose to power under Aishiu-Gioro, who, although of miraculous birth and surrounded by other legendary matter, appears to have been a historical person. He may be regarded as the true founder of the Manchu dynasty, for it was in his time that this name came into general use. Sing-tsu, one of his descendants, constructed the palisade, a feeble imitation of the Great Wall, sections of which still exist. Thai-tsu, a still more famous member of the family, greatly extended the Manchu Kingdom (1580-1626), and it was his son Tai-dsung who first assumed the imperial dignity under the title of Tai-Tsing. After his death, the Ming dynasty having been overthrown by a rebel chief, the Manchus were invited by the imperialists to aid in restoring order, entered Peking in triumph, and, finding that the last of the Mings had committed suicide, placed Tai-dsung's nephew on the throne, thus founding the Manchu dynasty (1644) which lasted down to 1912.

The
Manchus.

Origins and
Early
Records.

Such has been the contribution of the Manchu people to history; their contributions to arts, letters, science, in a word, to the general progress of mankind, have been *nil*. They found the Middle Kingdom, after ages of a sluggish growth, in a state of absolute stagnation, and there they have left it. On the other hand their assumption of the imperial administration brought about their own ruin, their effacement, and almost their

very extinction as a separate nationality¹. Manchuria, like Mongolia, is organised in a number of half military, half civil divisions, the so-called *Paki*, or "Eight Banners," and the constant demand made on these reserves, to support the dynasty and supply trustworthy garrisons for all the strongholds of the empire, has drawn off the best blood of the people, in fact sapped its vitality at the fountain-head. Then the rich arable tracts thus depleted were gradually occupied by agricultural settlers from the south, with the result that the Manchu race has nearly disappeared. From the ethnical standpoint the whole region beyond the Great Wall as far north as the Amur has practically become an integral part of China, and from the political standpoint since 1898 an integral part of the Russian empire. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the Eight Banners numbered scarcely more than a quarter of a million, and about that time the Abbé Huc declared that "the Manchu nationality is destroyed beyond recovery. At present we shall look in vain for a single town or a single village throughout Manchuria which is not exclusively inhabited by Chinese. The local colour has been completely effaced, and except a few nomad groups nobody speaks Manchu²."

Similar testimony is afforded by later observers, and Henry Lansdell, amongst others, remarks that "the Manchu, during the two centuries they have reigned in China, may be said to have been working out their own annihilation. Their manners, language, their very country has become Chinese, and some maintain that the Manchu proper are now extinct³."

But the type, so far from being extinct, may be said to have received a considerable expansion, especially amongst the populations of north-east China. The taller stature and greatly superior physical appearance of the inhabitants of Tien-tsin and surrounding districts⁴ over those of the southern provinces (Fokien, Kwang-tung), who are the

¹ Cf. H. A. Giles, *China and the Manchus*, 1912.

² *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie*, 1853, I. 162.

³ *Through Siberia*, 1882, Vol. II. p. 172.

⁴ European visitors often notice with surprise the fine physique of these natives, many of whom average nearly six feet in height. But there is an extraordinary disparity between the two sexes, perhaps greater than in any other country. The much smaller stature and feebler constitution of the women is no doubt due to the detestable custom of crippling the feet in childhood, thereby depriving them of natural exercise during the period of growth. It may be noted that the anti-foot-binding movement is making progress throughout China, the object being to abolish the cruel practice by making the *kin lien* ("golden lilies") unfashionable, and the *ti mien*, the "heavenly feet,"—i.e. the natural—popular in their stead.

chief representatives of the Chinese race abroad, seem best explained by continual crossings with the neighbouring Manchu people, at least since the twelfth century, if not earlier.

Closely related to the Manchus (of the same stock says Sir H. H. Howorth, the distinction being purely political) are the *Dauri*, who give their name to the extensive Daur plateau, and formerly occupied both sides of the Upper Amur. Daur is, in fact, the name applied by the Buryats to all the Tungus peoples of the Amur basin. The *Dauri* proper, who are now perhaps the best representatives of the original Manchu type, would seem to have intermingled at a remote time with the long-headed pre-Mongol populations of Central Asia. They are "taller and stronger than the Oronchons [Tungus groups lower down the Amur]; the countenance is oval and more intellectual, and the cheeks are less broad. The nose is rather prominent, and the eyebrows straight. The skin is tawny, and the hair brown¹." Most of these characters are such as we should expect to find in a people of mixed Mongolo-Caucasic descent, the latter element being derived from the long-headed race who had already reached the present Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, and the adjacent islands during neolithic times. Thus may be explained the tall stature, somewhat regular features, brown hair, light eyes, and even florid complexion so often observed amongst the present inhabitants of Manchuria, Korea, and parts of North China.

But no admixture, except of Chinese literary terms, is seen in the Manchu language, which, like Mongolic, is a typical member of the agglutinating Ural-Altaic family. Despite great differences, lexical, phonetic, and even structural, all the members of this widespread order of speech have in common a number of fundamental features, which justify the assumption that all spring from an original stock language, which has long been extinct, and the germs of which were perhaps first developed on the Tibetan plateau. The essential characters of the system are:—(1) a "root" or notional term, generally a closed syllable, nominal or verbal, with a vowel or diphthong, strong or weak (hard or soft) according to the meaning of the term, hence incapable of change; (2) a number of particles or relational terms somewhat loosely postfixed to the root, but incorporated with it by the

The Dauri.

Mongolo-Turki
Speech.

¹ H. Lansdell, *Through Siberia*, 1882, II. p. 172.

principle of (3) vowel harmony, a kind of vocal concordance, in virtue of which the vowels of all the postfixes must harmonise with the unchangeable vowel of the root. If this is strong all the following vowels of the combination, no matter what its length, must be strong; if weak they must conform in the same way. With nominal roots the postfixes are necessarily limited to the expression of a few simple relations; but with verbal roots they are in principle unlimited, so that the multifarious relations of the verb to its subject and object are all incorporated in the verbal compound itself, which may thus run at times to inordinate lengths. Hence we have the expression "incorporating," commonly applied to this agglutinating system, which sometimes goes so far as to embody the notions of causality, possibility, passivity, negation, intensity, condition, and so on, besides the direct pronominal objects, in one interminable conglomerate, which is then treated as a simple verb, and run through all the secondary changes of number, person, tense, and mood. The result is an endless number of theoretically possible verbal forms, which, although in practice naturally limited to the ordinary requirements of speech, are far too numerous to allow of a complete verbal paradigm being constructed of any fully developed member of the Ural-Altaic group, such, for instance, as Yakut, Tungus, Turki, Mordvinian, Finnish, or Magyar.

In this system the vowels are classed as strong or hard (*a, o, u*), weak or soft (the same *umlauted*: *ä, ö, ü*), and neutral (generally *e, i*), these last being so called because they occur indifferently with the two other classes. Thus, if the determining root vowel is *a* (strong), that of the postfixes may be either *a* (strong), *e* or *i* (neutral); if *ä* (weak), that of the postfixes may be either *ä* (weak), or *e* or *i* as before. The postfixes themselves no doubt were originally notional terms worn down in form and meaning, so as to express mere abstract relation, as in the Magyar *vel* = with, from *veli* = companion. Tacked on to the root *fa* = tree, this will give the ablative case, first unharmonised, *fa-vel*, then harmonised, *fa-val* = tree-with, with a tree. In the early Magyar texts of the twelfth century inharmonic compounds, such as *halál-nek*, later *halák-nak* = at death, are numerous, from which it has been inferred that the principle of vowel harmony is not an original feature of the Ural-Altaic languages, but a later development, due in fact to phonetic decay, and still scarcely known in some members of

the group, such as Votyak and Highland Cheremissian (Volga Finn). But M. Lucien Adam holds that these idioms have lost the principle through foreign (Russian) influence, and that the few traces still perceptible are survivals from a time when all the Ural-Altaic tongues were subject to progressive vowel harmony¹.

But however this be, Dean Byrne is disposed to regard the alternating energetic utterance of the hard, and indolent utterance of the soft vowel series, as an expression of the alternating active and lethargic temperament of the race, such alternations being themselves due to the climatic conditions of their environment. “Certainly the life of the great nomadic races involves a twofold experience of this kind, as they must during their abundant summer provide for their rigorous winter, when little can be done. Their character, too, involves a striking combination of intermittent indolence and energy; and it is very remarkable that this distinction of roots is peculiar to the languages spoken originally where this great distinction of seasons exists. The fact that the distinction [between hard and soft] is imparted to all the suffixes of a root proves that the radical characteristic which it expresses is thought with these; and consequently that the radical idea is retained in the consciousness while these are added to it².”

Language
and Racial
Characters.

This is a highly characteristic instance of the methods followed by Dean Byrne in his ingenious but hopeless attempt to explain the subtle structure of speech by the still more subtle temperament of the speaker, taken in connection with the alternating nature of the climate. The feature in question cannot be due to such alternation of mood and climate, because it is persistent throughout all seasons, while the hard and soft elements occur simultaneously, one might say, promiscuously, in conversation under all mental states of those conversing.

The true explanation is given by Schleicher, who points out that progressive vocal assimilation is the necessary result of agglutination, which by this means binds together the idea and its relations in their outward expression, just as they are already

¹ *De l'Harmonie des Voyelles dans les Langues Uralo-Altaïques*, 1874, p. 67 sq.

² *General Principles of the Structure of Language*, 1885, Vol. I. p. 357. The evidence here chiefly relied upon is that afforded by the Yakutic, a pure Turki idiom, which is spoken in the region of extremest heat and cold (Middle and Lower Lena basin), and in which the principle of progressive assonance attains its greatest development.

inseparately associated in the mind of the speaker. Hence it is that such assonance is not confined to the Ural-Altaic group, analogous processes occurring at certain stages of their growth in all forms of speech, as in Wolof, Zulu-Xosa, Celtic (expressed by the formula of Irish grammarians : "broad to broad, slender to slender"), and even in Latin, as in such vocalic concordance as : *annus, perennis ; ars, iners ; lego, diligo*. In these examples the root vowel is influenced by that of the prefix, while in the Mongolo-Turki family the root vowel, coming first, is unchangeable, but, as explained, influences the vowels of the postfixes, the phonetic principle being the same in both systems.

Both Mongol and Manchu are cultivated languages employing modified forms of the Uiguric (Turki) script, which is based on the Syriac introduced by the Christian (Nestorian) missionaries in the seventh century. It was first adopted by the Mongols about 1280, and perfected by the scribe Tsorji Osir under Jenezek Khan (1307-1311). The letters, connected together by continuous strokes, and slightly modified, as in Syriac, according to their position at the beginning, middle, or end of the word, are disposed in vertical columns from left to right, an arrangement due no doubt to Chinese influence. This is the more probable since the Manchus, before the introduction of the Mongol system in the sixteenth century, employed the Chinese characters ever since the time of the Kin dynasty.

None of the other Tungusic or north-east Siberian peoples possess any writing system except the Yukaghirs of the Yasachnaya affluent of the Kolyma river, who were visited in 1892 by the Russian traveller, S. Sharгородsky. From his report¹, it appears that this symbolic writing is carved with a sharp knife out of soft fresh birch-bark, these simple materials sufficing to describe the tracks followed on hunting and fishing expeditions, as well as the sentiments of the young women in their correspondence with their sweet-hearts. Specimens are given of these curious documents, some of which are touching and even pathetic. "Thou goest hence, and I bide alone, for thy sake still to weep and moan," writes one disconsolate maid to her parting lover. Another with a touch of jealousy : "Thou goest forth thy Russian flame to seek, who stands 'twixt thee and me, thy heart from me apart to keep. In a new home joy wilt thou find, while I must ever

¹ Explained and illustrated by General Krahmer in *Globus*, 1896, p. 208 sq.

grieve, as thee I bear in mind, though another yet there be who loveth me." Or again: "Each youth his mate doth find; my fate alone it is of him to dream, who to another wedded is, and I must fain contented be, if only he forget not me." And with a note of wail: "Thou hast gone hence, and of late it seems this place for me is desolate; and I too forth must fare, that so the memories old I may forget, and from the pangs thus flee of those bright days, which here I once enjoyed with thee."

Details of domestic life may even be given, and one accomplished maiden is able to make a record in her note-book of the combs, shawls, needles, thimble, cake of soap, lollipops, skeins of wool, and other sundries, which she has received from a Yakut packman, in exchange for some clothes she has made him. Without illustrations no description of the process would be intelligible. Indeed it would seem these primitive documents are not always understood by the young folks themselves. They gather at times in groups to watch the process of composition by some expert damsel, the village "notary," and much merriment, we are told, is caused by the blunders of those who fail to read the text aright.

It is not stated whether the system is current amongst the other Yukaghir tribes, who dwell on the banks of the Indigirka, Yana, Kerkodona, and neighbouring districts. They thus skirt the Frozen Ocean from near the Lena delta to and beyond the Kolyma, and are conterminous landwards with the Yakuts on the south-west and the Chukchi on the north-east. With the Chukchi, the Koryaks, the Kamchadales, and the Gilyaks they form a separate branch of the Mongolic division sometimes grouped together as "Hyperboreans," but distinguished from other Ural-Altaic peoples perhaps strictly on linguistic grounds. Although now reduced to scarcely 1500, the Yukaghirs were formerly a numerous people, and the popular saying that their hearths on the banks of the Kolyma at one time outnumbered the stars in the sky seems a reminiscence of more prosperous days. But great inroads have been made by epidemics, tribal wars, the excessive use of coarse Ukraine tobacco and of bad spirits, indulged in even by the women and children. "A Yukaghir, it is said, never intoxicates himself alone, but calls upon his family to share the drink, even children in arms being supplied with a portion¹." Their language, which

¹ H. Lansdell, *Through Siberia*, 1882, I. p. 299.

A. Schiefner regards as radically distinct from all others¹, is disappearing even more rapidly than the people themselves, if it be not already quite extinct. In the eighties it was spoken only by about a dozen old persons, its place being taken almost everywhere by the Turki dialect of the Yakuts².

There appears to be a curious interchange of tribal names between the Chukchi and their Koryak neighbours, the term *Koryak* being the Chukchi *Khorana*, "Reindeer," while the Koryaks are said to call themselves *Chauchau*, whence some derive the word *Chukchi*. Hooper, however, tells us that the proper form of Chukchi is *Tuski*, "Brothers," or "Confederates³," and in any case the point is of little consequence, as Dittmar is probably right in regarding both groups as closely related, and sprung originally from one stock⁴. Jointly they occupy the north-east extremity of the continent between the Kolyma and Bering Strait, together with the northern parts of Kamchatka; the Chukchi lying to the north, the Koryaks to the south, mainly round about the north-eastern inlets of the Sea of Okhotsk. Reasons have already been advanced for supposing that the Chukchi were a Tungus people who came originally from the Amur basin. In their arctic homes they appear to have waged long wars with the Onkilon (Ang-kali) aborigines, gradually merging with the survivors and also mingling both with the Koryaks and Chuklukmiut Eskimo settled on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait.

But their relations to all these peoples are involved in great obscurity, and while some connect them with the Itelmes of Kamchatka⁵, by others they have been affiliated to the Eskimo, owing to the Eskimo dialect said to be spoken by them. But this "dialect" is only a trading jargon, a sort of "pidgin Eskimo" current all round the coast, and consisting of Chukchi, Innuut, Koryak, English,

¹ "Ueber die Sprache der Jukagiren," in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1859, III. p. 595 sq.

² W. I. Jochelson recently discovered two independent Yukaghir dialects. "Essay on the Grammar of the Yukaghir Language," *Annals N. Y. Ac. Sc.* 1905; *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus. Memoir of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, Vol. IX. 1910. For the Koryak see his monograph in the same series, Vol. VI. 1905-8.

³ *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski*.

⁴ "Ueber die Koriaken u. ihnen nahe verwandten Tchouktchen," in *Bul. Acad. Sc.*, St Petersburg, XII. p. 99.

⁵ Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 391, who says the Chukchi are "as closely related to the Itelmes in speech as are Spaniards to Portuguese."

and even Hawaii elements, mingled together in varying proportions. The true Chukchi language, of which Nordenskiöld collected 1000 words, is quite distinct from Eskimo, and probably akin to Koryak¹, and the Swedish explorer aptly remarks that "this race, settled on the primeval route between the Old and New World, bears an unmistakable stamp of the Mongols of Asia and the Eskimo and Indians of America." He was much struck by the great resemblance of the Chukchi weapons and household utensils to those of the Greenland Eskimo, while Signe Rink shows that even popular legends have been diffused amongst the populations on both sides of Bering Strait². Such common elements, however, prove little for racial affinity, which seems excluded by the extremely round shape of the Chukchi skull, as compared with the long-headed Eskimo. But the type varies considerably both amongst the so-called "Fishing Chukchi," who occupy permanent stations along the seaboard, and the "Reindeer Chukchi," who roam the inland districts, shifting their camping-grounds with the seasons. There are no hereditary chiefs, and little deference is paid to the authority even of the owner of the largest reindeer herds, on whom the Russians have conferred the title of *Jerema*, regarding him as the head of the Chukchi nation, and holding him responsible for the good conduct of his rude subjects. Although nominal Christians, they continue to sacrifice animals to the spirits of the rivers and mountains, and also to practise Shamanist rites. They believe in an after-life, but only for those who die a violent death. Hence the resignation and even alacrity with which the hopelessly infirm and the aged submit, when the time comes, to be dispatched by their kinsfolk, in accordance with the tribal custom of *kamitok*, which still survives in full vigour amongst the Chukchi, as amongst the Sumatran Battas, and may be traced in many other parts of the world.

Type and
Social State.

"The doomed one," writes Harry de Windt, "takes a lively interest in the proceedings, and often assists in the preparation for his own death. The execution is always preceded by a feast, where seal and walrus meat are greedily devoured, and whisky consumed till all are intoxicated. A spontaneous burst of singing and the muffled roll of walrus-hide drums then herald

¹ *Petermann's Mitt.* Vol. 25, 1879, p. 138.

² "The Girl and the Dogs, an Eskimo Folk-tale," *Amer. Anthropologist*, June 1898, p. 181 sq.

the fatal moment. At a given signal a ring is formed by the relations and friends, the entire settlement looking on from the background. The executioner (usually the victim's son or brother) then steps forward, and placing his right foot behind the back of the condemned, slowly strangles him to death with a walrus-thong. A kamitok took place during the latter part of our stay¹."

This custom of "voluntary death" is sometimes due to sorrow at the death of a near relative, a quarrel at home, or merely weariness of life, and Bogoras thinks that the custom of killing old people does not exist as such, but is voluntarily chosen in preference to the hard life of an invalid².

Most recent observers have come to look upon the Chukchi and *Koryaks* as essentially one and the same people, the chief difference being that the latter are if possible even more degraded than their northern neighbours³.

**Koryaks and
Kamchadales.**

Like them they are classed as sedentary fisher-folk or nomad reindeer-owners, the latter, who call themselves Tumugulu, "Wanderers," roaming chiefly between Ghiyiginsk Bay and the Anadyr river. Through them the Chukchi merge gradually in the *Itelmes*, who are better known as Kamchadales, from the Kamchatka river, where they are now chiefly concentrated. Most of the Itelmes are already Russified in speech and—outwardly at least—in religion; but they still secretly immolate a dog now and then, to propitiate the malevolent beings who throw obstacles in the way of their hunting and fishing expeditions. Yet their very existence depends on their canine associates, who are of a stout, almost wolfish breed, inured to hunger and hardships, and excellent for sledge work.

Somewhat distinct both from all these Hyperboreans and from their neighbours, the Orochons, Golds, Manegrs and other Tungus peoples, are the *Gilyaks*, formerly
The Gilyaks. widespread, but now confined to the Amur delta and the northern parts of Sakhalin⁴. Some observers have

¹ *Through the Gold Fields of Alaska to Bering Strait*, 1898.

² Cf. W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee, Memoir of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, Vol. VII. 1904-10.

³ This, however, applies only to the fishing Koryaks, for G. Kennan speaks highly of the domestic virtues, hospitality, and other good qualities of the nomad groups (*Tent Life in Siberia*, 1871).

⁴ See L. Sternberg, *The Tribes of the Amur River, Memoirs of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, Vol. IV. 1900.

connected them with the Ainu and the Korean aborigines, while A. Anuchin detects two types—a Mongoloid with sparse beard, high cheek-bones, and flat face, and a Caucasian with bushy beard and more regular features¹. The latter traits have been attributed to Russian mixture, but, as conjectured by H. von Siebold, are more probably due to a fundamental connection with their Ainu neighbours².

Mentally the Gilyaks take a low position—H. Lansdell thought the lowest of any people he had met in Siberia³. Despite the zeal of the Russian missionaries, and the inducements to join the fold, they remain obdurate Shamanists, and even fatalists, so that “if one falls into the water the others will not help him out, on the plea that they would thus be opposing a higher power, who wills that he should perish.... The soul of the Gilyak is supposed to pass at death into his favourite dog, which is accordingly fed with choice food; and when the spirit has been prayed by the shamans out of the dog, the animal is sacrificed on his master’s grave. The soul is then represented as passing underground, lighted and guided by its own sun and moon, and continuing to lead there, in its spiritual abode, the same manner of life and pursuits as in the flesh⁴.”

A speciality of the Gilyaks, as well as of their Gold neighbours, is the fish-skin costume, made from the skins of two kinds of salmon, and from this all these aborigines are known to the Chinese as *Yupitatse*, “Fish-skin-clad-People.” “They strip it off with great dexterity, and by beating with a mallet remove the scales, and so render it supple. Clothes thus made are waterproof. I saw a travelling-bag, and even the sail of a boat, made of this material⁵.”

Like the Ainu, the Gilyaks may be called bear-worshippers. At least this animal is supposed to be one of their chief gods, although they ensnare him in winter, keep him in confinement, and when well fattened tear him to pieces, devouring his mangled remains with much feasting and jubilation.

Since the opening up of Korea, some fresh light has been thrown upon the origins and ethnical relations of its present inhabitants. In his monograph on the Yellow Races⁶ Hamy

¹ *Mem. Imp. Soc. Nat. Sc.* xx. Supplement, Moscow, 1877.

² “Scheinen grosse Aenlichkeit in Sprache, Gesichtsbildung und Sitten mit den Aino zu haben” (*Ueber die Aino*, Berlin, 1881, p. 12).

³ *Through Siberia*, 1882, II. p. 227.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 235.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 221.

⁶ *L'Anthropologie*, vi. No. 3.

had included them in the Mongol division, but not without reserve, adding that "while some might be taken for Tibetans, others look like an Oceanic cross ; hence the contradictory reports and theories of modern travellers." Since then the study of some skulls forwarded to Paris has enabled him to clear up some of the confusion, which is obviously due to interminglings of different elements dating from remote (neolithic) times. On the data supplied by these skulls Hamy classes the Koreans in three groups :—1. The natives of the northern provinces (Ping-ngan-tao and Hien-king-tao), strikingly like their Mongol [Tungus] neighbours ;

Ethnical Elements.	2. Those of the southern provinces (Kling-chang-tao and Thsiusan-lo-tao), descendants of the ancient Chinhans and Pien-hans, showing Japanese affinities ;
	3. Those of the inner provinces (Hoang-hae-tao and Ching-tsing-tao), who present a transitional form between the northerns and southern, both in their physical type and geographical position ¹ .

Caucasic features—light eyes, large nose, hair often brown, full beard, fair and even white skin, tall stature—are conspicuous, especially amongst the upper classes and many of the southern Koreans². They are thus shown to be a mixed race, the Mongol element dominating in the north, as might be expected, and the Caucasic in the south.

These conclusions seem to be confirmed by what is known of the early movements, migrations, and displacements of the populations in north-east Asia about the dawn of history. In these vicissitudes the Koreans, as they are now called³, appear to have first taken part in the twelfth century B.C., when the peninsula was already occupied, as it still is, by Mongols, the *Sien-pi*, in the north,

Korean Origins
and Records.

¹ *Bul. du Muséum d'Hist. Nat.* 1896, No. 4. All the skulls were brachy or sub-brachy, varying from 81 to 83·8 and 84·8. The author remarks generally that "photographes et crânes différent, du tout au tout, des choses similaires venues jusqu'à présent de Mongolie et de Chine, et font plutôt penser au Japon, à Formose, et d'une manière plus générale à ce vaste ensemble de peuples maritimes que Lesson désignait jadis sous le nom de 'Mongols-pélasgiens,'" p. 3.

² On this juxtaposition of the yellow and blond types in Korea V. de Saint-Martin's language is highly significative: "Cette dualité de type, un type tout à fait caucasique à côté du type mongol, est un fait commun à toute la ceinture d'îles qui couvre les côtes orientales de l'Asie, depuis les Kouriles jusqu'à Formose, et même jusqu'à la zone orientale de l'Indo-Chine" (*Art. Corée*, p. 800).

³ From *Korai*, in Japanese *Kome* (Chinese *Kaoli*), name of a petty state, which enjoyed political predominance in the peninsula for about 500 years (tenth to fourteenth century A.D.). An older designation still in official use is *Tsio-sien*, that is, the Chinese *Chao-sien*, "Bright Dawn" (Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 334 sq.).

and in the south by several branches of the *Hans* (*San-San*), of whom it is recorded that they spoke a language unintelligible to the *Sien-pi*, and resembled the Japanese in appearance, manners, and customs. From this it may be inferred that the *Hans* were the true aborigines, probably direct descendants of the Caucasian peoples of the New Stone Age, while the *Sien-pi* were Mongolic (Tungusic) intruders from the present Manchuria. For some time these *Sien-pi* played a leading part in the political convulsions prior and subsequent to the erection of the Great Wall by Shih Hwang Ti, founder of the Tsin dynasty (221–209 B.C.)¹. Soon after the completion of this barrier, the *Hiung-nu*, no longer able to scour the fertile plains of the Middle Kingdom, turned their arms against the neighbouring *Yue-chi*, whom they drove westwards to the Sungarian valleys. Here they were soon displaced by the *Usuns* (*Wusun*), a fair, blue-eyed people of unknown origin, who have been called "Aryans," and even "Teutons," and whom Ch. de Ujfalvy identifies with the tall long-headed western blonds (de Lapouge's *Homo Europaeus*), mixed with brown round-headed hordes of white complexion². Accepting this view, we may go further, and identify the *Usuns*, as well as the other white peoples of the early Chinese records, with the already described Central Asiatic Caucasians of the Stone Ages, whose osseous remains we now possess, and who come to the surface in the very first Chinese documents dealing with the turbulent populations beyond the Great Wall. The white element, with all the correlated characters, existed beyond all question, for it is continuously referred to in those documents. How is its presence in East Central Asia, including Manchuria and Korea,

¹ This stupendous work, on which about 1,000,000 hands are said to have been engaged for five years, possesses great ethnical as well as political importance. Running for over 1500 miles across hills, valleys, and rivers along the northern frontier of China proper, it long arrested the southern movements of the restless Mongolo-Turki hordes, and thus gave a westerly direction to their incursions many centuries before the great invasions of Jenghiz-Khan and his successors. It is strange to reflect that the ethnological relations were thus profoundly disturbed throughout the eastern hemisphere by the work of a ruthless despot who reigned only twelve years, and in that time waged war against all the best traditions of the empire, destroying the books of Confucius and the other sages, and burying alive 460 men of letters for their efforts to rescue those writings from total extinction.

² *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, 1896, p. 25. This writer does not think that the *Usuns* should be identified with the tall race of horse-like face, large nose, and deep-set eyes mentioned in the early Chinese records, because no reference is made to "blue eyes" which would not have been omitted had they existed. But, if I remember, "green eyes" are spoken of, and we know that none of the early writers use colour terms with strict accuracy.

to be explained? Only on two assumptions—*proto-historic* migrations from the Far West, barred by the proto-historic migrations from the Far East, as largely determined by the erection of the Great Wall; or *pre-historic* (neolithic) migrations, also from the Far West, but barred by no serious obstacle, because antecedent to the arrival of the proto-Mongolic tribes from the Tibetan plateau. The true solution of the endless ethnical complications in the extreme East, as in the Oceanic world, will still be found in the now-demonstrated presence of a Caucasian element antecedent to the Mongol in those regions.

When the Hiung-nu¹ power was weakened by their westerly migrations to Sungaria and south-west Siberia (Upper Irtysh and Lake Balkash depression), and broken into two sections during their wars with the two Han dynasties (201 B.C.—220 A.D.), the Korean Sien-pi became the dominant nation north of the Great Wall. After destroying the last vestiges of the unstable Hiung-nu empire, and driving the Mongolo-Turki hordes still westwards, the Yuan-yuans, most powerful of all the Sien-pi tribes, remained masters of East Central Asia for about 400 years and then disappeared from history². At least after the sixth century A.D. no further mention is made of the Sien-pi principalities either in Manchuria or in Korea. Here, however, they appear still to form a dominant element in the northern (Mongol) provinces, calling themselves Ghirin (Khirin), from the Khirin (Sungari) valley of the Amur, where they once held sway.

¹ I have not thought it desirable to touch on the interminable controversy respecting the ethnical relations of the Hiung-nu, regarding them, not as a distinct ethnical group, but like the Huns, their later western representatives, as a heterogeneous collection of Mongol, Tungus, Turki, and perhaps even Finnish hordes under a Mongol military caste. At the same time I have little doubt that Mongolo-Tungus elements greatly predominated in the eastern regions (Mongolia proper; Manchuria) both amongst the Hiung-nu and their Yuan-yuan (Sien-pi) successors, and that all the founders of the first great empires prior to that of the Turki Assena in the Altai region (sixth century A.D.) were full-blood Mongols, as indeed recognised by Jenghiz-Khan himself. For the migrations of these and neighbouring peoples, consult A. C. Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, 1911, pp. 16 and 28.

² On the authority of the Wei-Shu documents contained in the Wei-Chi, E. H. Parker gives (in the *China Review* and *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, Shanghai, 1895) the dates 386–556 A.D. as the period covered by the “Sien-pi Tartar dynasty of Wei.” This is not to be confused with the Chinese dynasty of Wei (224–264, or according to Kwong Ki-Chiu 234–274 A.D.). The term “Tartar” (Ta-Ta), it may be explained, is used by Parker, as well as by the Chinese historians generally, in a somewhat wide sense, so as to include all the nomad populations north of the Great Wall, whether of Tungus (Manchu), Mongol, or even Turki stock. The original tribes bearing the name were Mongols, and Jenghiz-Khan himself was a Tata on his mother’s side.

Since those days Korea has been alternately a vassal State and a province of the Middle Kingdom, with interludes of Japanese ascendancy, interrupted only by the four centuries of Korai ascendancy (934-1368). This was the most brilliant epoch in the national records, when Korea was rather the ally than the vassal of China, and when trade, industry, and the arts, especially porcelain and bronze work, flourished in the land. But by centuries of subsequent misrule, a people endowed with excellent natural qualities have been reduced to the lowest state of degradation. Before the reforms introduced by the political events of 1895-96, "the country was eaten up by officialism. It is not only that abuses without number prevailed, but the whole system of government was an abuse, a sea of corruption, without a bottom or a shore, an engine of robbery, crushing the life out of all industry". But an improvement was speedily remarked. "The air of the men has undergone a subtle and real change, and the women, though they nominally keep up their habits by seclusion, have lost the hang-dog air which distinguished them at home. The alacrity of movement is a change also, and has replaced the conceited swing of the *yang-ban* [nobles] and the heartless lounge of the peasant." This improvement was merely temporary. The last years of the century were marked by the waning of Japanese influence, due to Russian intrigues, the restoration of absolute monarchy together with its worst abuses, the abandonment of reforms and a retrograde movement throughout the kingdom. The successes of Japan in 1904-5 resulted in the restoration of her ascendancy, culminating in 1910 in the cession of sovereignty by the emperor of Korea to the emperor of Japan.

The religious sentiment is perhaps less developed than among any other Asiatic people. Buddhism, introduced about 380 A.D., never took root, and while the *literati* are satisfied with the moral precepts of Confucius, the rest have not progressed beyond the nature-worship which was the ancient religion of the land. Every mountain, pass, ford or even eddy of a river has a spirit to whom offerings are made. Honour is also paid to ancestors, both royal and domestic, at their temples or altars, and chapels are built and dedicated to men who have specially distinguished themselves in loyalty, virtue or lofty teaching.

Philologists now recognise some affinity between the Korean

¹ Mrs Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbours*, 1898.

and Japanese languages, both of which appear to be remotely connected with the Ural-Altaic family. The Koreans possess a true alphabet of 28 letters, which, however, is not a local invention, as is sometimes asserted. It appears to have been introduced by the Buddhist monks about or before the tenth century, and to be based on some cursive form of the Indian (Devanagari) system¹, although scarcely any resemblance can now be traced between the two alphabets. This script is little used except by the lower classes and the women, the *literati* preferring to write either in Chinese, or else in the so-called *nido*, that is, an adaptation of the Chinese symbols to the phonetic expression of the Korean syllables. The *nido* is exactly analogous to the Japanese *Katakana* script, in which modified forms of Chinese ideographs are used phonetically to express 47 syllables (the so-called *I-ro-fa* syllabary), raised to 73 by the *nigori* and *maru* diacritical marks.

The present population of Japan, according to E. Baelz, shows the following types. The first and most important is the Manchu-Korean type, characteristic of North China and Korea, and most frequent among the upper classes in Japan. The stature is conspicuously tall, the effect being heightened by slender and elegant figure. The face is long, with more or less oblique eyes but no marked prominence of the cheek-bones. The nose is aquiline, the chin slightly receding. With this type is associated a narrow chest, giving an air of elegance rather than of muscularity, an effect which is enhanced by the extremely delicate hands with long slender fingers. The second type is the Mongol, and presents a distinct contrast, with strong and squarely built figure, broad face, prominent cheek-bones, oblique eyes, flat nose and wide mouth. This type is not common in the Japanese Islands. The third type, more conspicuous than either of the preceding, is the Malay. The stature is small, with well-knit frame, and broad, well-developed chest. The face is generally round, the nose short, jaws and chin frequently projecting. None of these three types represents the aboriginal race of Japan, for there seems to be no doubt that the Ainu, who now survive in parts

¹ T. de Lacouperie says on "a Tibeto-Indian base" (*Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, 1894, p. 148); and E. H. Parker: "It is demonstrable that the Korean letters are an adaptation from the Sanskrit" *i.e.* the Devanagari (*Academy*, Dec. 21, 1895, p. 550).

of the northern island of Yezo, occupied a greater area in earlier times and to them the prehistoric shell-mounds and other remains are usually attributed¹. The Ainu are thickly and strongly built, but differ from all other Oriental types in the hairiness of face and body. The head is long, with a cephalic index of 77·8. Face and nose are broad, and the eyes are horizontal, not oblique, lacking the Mongolian fold.

It is generally assumed that this population represents the easterly migration of that long-headed type which can be traced across the continents of Europe and Asia in the Stone Age, and that their entrance into the islands was effected at a time when the channel separating them from the mainland was neither so wide nor so deep as at the present time. Later Manchu-Korean invaders from the West, Mongols from the South, and Malays from the East pressed the aborigines further and further north, to Yezo, Sakhalin and the Kuriles. But it is possible that the Ainu were not the earliest inhabitants of Japan, for they themselves bear witness to predecessors, the *Koro-pok-guru*, mentioned above (p. 260). Neither is the assumption of kinship between the Ainu and prehistoric populations of Western Europe accepted without demur. Deniker, while acknowledging the resemblance to certain European types, classes the Ainu as a separate race, the *Palaeasiatics*. For while in head-length, prominent superciliary ridges, hairiness and the form of the nose they may be compared to Russians, Todas, and Australians, their skin colour, prominent cheek-bones, and other somatic features make any close affinity impossible².

Origins—
Constituent
Elements.

In spite of these various ingredients the Japanese people may be regarded as fairly homogeneous. Apart from some tall and robust persons amongst the upper classes, and athletes, acrobats, and wrestlers, the general impression that the Japanese are a short finely moulded race is fully borne out by the now regularly recorded military measurements of recruits, showing for height an average of 1·585 m. (5 ft. 2½ in.) to 1·639 m. (5 ft. 4½ in.), for chest 33 in., and disproportionately short legs. Other distinctive characters, all tending to stamp a certain individuality on the people, taken as a whole and

Japanese Type.

¹ See p. 261. Also Koganei, "Ueber die Urbewohner von Japan," *Mitt. d. Deutsch. Gesell. f. Natur- u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, ix. 3, 1903, containing an exhaustive review of recent literature, and N. G. Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, 1912.

² J. Deniker, *Races of Man*, 1900, pp. 371-2. See also J. Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, 1892, and the article "Ainus" in *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, 1908.

irrespective of local peculiarities, are a flat forehead, great distance between the eyebrows, a very small nose with raised nostrils, no glabella, no perceptible nasal root¹; an active, wiry figure; the exposed skin less yellow than the Chinese, and rather inclining to a light fawn, but the covered parts very light, some say even white; the eyes also less oblique, and all other characteristically Mongol features generally softened, except the black lank hair, which in transverse section is perhaps even rounder than that of most other Mongol peoples².

With this it will be instructive to compare F. H. H. Guille-
 mard's graphic account of the Liu-Kiu islanders, whose Koreo-
 Japanese affinities are now placed beyond all doubt: "They
 are a short race, probably even shorter than the Japanese, but
 much better proportioned, being without the long bodies and
 short legs of the latter people, and having as a rule extremely
 well-developed chests. The colour of the skin varies of course
 with the social position of the individual. Those who work in
 the fields, clad only in a waist-cloth, are nearly as dark as a
 Malay, but the upper classes are much fairer, and are at the
 same time devoid of any of the yellow tint of the Chinaman.
 To the latter race indeed they cannot be said to bear any re-
 semblance, and though the type is much closer to the Japanese,
 it is nevertheless very distinct.... In Liu-Kiu the Japanese and
 natives were easily recognised by us from the first, and must
 therefore be possessed of very considerable differ-
 ences. The Liu-Kiu has the face less flattened,
 the eyes are more deeply set, and the nose more
 prominent at its origin. The forehead is high and the cheek-
 bones somewhat less marked than in the Japanese; the eye-
 brows are arched and thick, and the eyelashes long. The
 expression is gentle and pleasing, though somewhat sad, and
 is apparently a true index of their character³."

This description is not accepted without some reserve by
 Chamberlain, who in fact holds that "the physical type of the
 Luchuans resembles that of the Japanese almost to identity⁴."
 In explanation however of the singularly mild, inoffensive, and
 "even timid disposition" of the Liu-Kiuans, this observer
 suggests "the probable absence of any admixture of Malay

¹ G. Baudens, *Bul. Soc. Geogr.* x. p. 419.

² See especially E. Baelz, "Die körperlichen Eigenschaften der Japaner," in *Mitt. der Deutsch. Gesell. f. Natur- u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 28 and 32.

³ *Cruise of the Marchesa*, 1886, i. p. 36.

⁴ *Geogr. Journ.* 1895, II. p. 318.

blood in the race¹." But everybody admits a Malay element in Japan. It would therefore appear that Guillemard must be right, and that, as even shown by all good photographs, differences do exist, due in fact to the presence of this very Malay strain in the Japanese race.

Elsewhere² Chamberlain has given us a scholarly account of the Liu-Kiu language, which is not merely a "sister," as he says, but obviously an *elder* sister, more archaic in structure and partly in its phonetics, than the oldest known form of Japanese. In the verb, for instance, Japanese retains only one past tense of the indicative, with but one grammatical form, whereas Liu-Kiu preserves the three original past tenses, each of which possesses a five-fold inflection. All these racial, linguistic, and even mental resemblances, such as the fundamental similarity of many of their customs and ways of thought, he would explain with much probability by the routes followed by the first emigrants from the mainland. While the great bulk spread east and north over the great archipelago, everywhere "driving the aborigines before them," a smaller stream may have trended southward to the little southern group, whose islets stretch like stepping-stones the whole way from Japan to Great Liu-Kiu³.

The Languages
and Religions.

Amongst the common mental traits, mention is made of the Shinto religion, "the simplest and most rustic form" of which still survives in Liu-Kiu. Here, as in Japan, it was originally a rude system of nature-worship, the normal development of which was arrested by Chinese and Buddhist influences. Later it became associated with spirit-worship, the spirits being at first the souls of the dead, and although there is at present no cult of the dead, in the strict sense of the expression, the Liu-Kiu islanders probably pay more respect to the departed than any other people in the world.

Cult of the
Dead.

In Japan, Shintoism, as reformed in recent times, has become much more a political institution than a religious system. The *Kami-no-michi*, that is, the Japanese form of the Chinese *Shin-to*, "way of the Gods," or "spirits," is not merely the national faith, but is inseparably bound up with the interests of the reigning dynasty, holding the Mikado to be the direct descendant of the Sun-goddess

Shintoism.

¹ *Geogr. Journ.* 1895, II. p. 460.

² *Journ. Anthropol. Soc.* 1897, p. 47 sq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 58.

Hence its three cardinal precepts now are :—1. Honour the *Kami* (spirits), of whom the emperor is the chief representative on earth ; 2. Revere him as thy sovereign ; 3. Obey the will of his Court, and that is the whole duty of man. There is no moral code, and loyal expositors have declared that the Mikado's will is the only test of right and wrong.

But apart from this political exegesis, Shintoism in its higher form may be called a cultured deism, in its lower a "blind obedience to governmental and priestly dictates¹." There are dim notions about a supreme creator, immortality, and even rewards and penalties in the after-life. Some also talk vaguely, as a pantheist might, of a sublime being or essence pervading all nature, too vast and ethereal to be personified or addressed in prayer, identified with the *tenka*, "heavens," from which all things emanate, to which all return. Yet, although a personal deity seems thus excluded, there are Shinto temples, apparently for the worship of the heavenly bodies and powers of nature, conceived as self-existing personalities—the so-called *Kami*, "spirits," "gods," of which there are "eight millions," that is, they are countless.

One cannot but suspect that some of these notions have been grafted on the old national faith by Buddhism, which was introduced about 550 A.D. and for a time had great vogue. It was encouraged especially by the Shoguns, or military usurpers of the Mikado's² functions, obviously as a set-off against the Shinto theocracy. During their tenure of power (1192–1868 A.D.) the land was covered with Buddhist shrines and temples, some of vast size and quaint design, filled with hideous idols, huge bells, and colossal statues of Buddha.

But with the fall of the Shogun the little prestige still enjoyed by Buddhism came to an end, and the temples, spoiled of their treasures, have more than ever become the resort of pleasure-seekers rather than of pious worshippers. "To all the larger temples are attached regular spectacles, playhouses, panoramas, besides lotteries, games of various sorts, including the famous 'fan-throwing,' and shooting-galleries, where the bow and arrow and the blow-pipe take the place of the rifle.

¹ Ripley and Dana, *Amer. Cyc.* IX. 538.

² *Shogun* from *Sho*=general, and *gún*=army, hence Commander-in-chief ; *Mikado* from *mi*=sublime, and *kado*=gate, with which cf. the "Sublime Porte" (J. J. Rein, *Japan nach Reisen u. Studien*, 1881, I. p. 245). But Mikado has become somewhat antiquated, being now generally replaced by the title *Kotei*, "Emperor."

The accumulated treasures of the priests have been confiscated, the monks driven from their monasteries, and many of these buildings converted into profane uses. Countless temple bells have already found their way to America, or have been sold for old metal¹."

Besides these forms of belief, there is a third religious, or rather philosophic system, the so-called *Siza*, based on the ethical teachings of Confucius, a sort of refined materialism, such as underlies the whole religious thought of the nation. *Siza*, always confined to the *literati*, has in recent years found a formidable rival in the "English Philosophy," represented by such writers as Buckle, Mill, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, and Huxley, most of whose works have already been translated into Japanese.

Thus this highly gifted people are being assimilated to the western world in their social and religious, as well as their political institutions. Their intellectual powers, already tested in the fields of war, science, diplomacy, and self-government, are certainly superior to those of all other Asiatic peoples, and this is perhaps the best guarantee for the stability of the stupendous transformation that a single generation has witnessed from an exaggerated form of medieval feudalism to a political and social system in harmony with the most advanced phases of modern thought. The system has doubtless not yet penetrated to the lower strata, especially amongst the rural populations. But their natural receptivity, combined with a singular freedom from "insular prejudice," must ensure the ultimate acceptance of the new order by all classes of the community.

¹ Keane's *Asia*, I. p. 487.

CHAPTER IX

THE NORTHERN MONGOLS (*continued*)

The Finno-Turki Peoples—Assimilation to the Caucasian Type—Turki Cradle—Ural-Altai Invasions—The Scythians—Parthians and Turkomans—Massagetae and Yue-chi—Indo-Scythians and Graeco-Baktrians—Dahae, Ját, and Rájput Origins—The “White Huns”—The Uigurs—Orkhon Inscriptions—The Assena Turki Dynasty—Toghuz-Uigur Empire—Kashgarian and Sun-garian Populations—The Oghuz Turks and their Migrations—Seljuks and Osmanli—The Yakuts—The Kirghiz—Kazák and Kossack—The Kara-Kirghiz—The Finnish Peoples—Former and Present Domain—Late Westward Spread of the Finns—The Bronze and Iron Ages in the Finnish Lands—The Baltic Finns—Relations to Goths, Letts, and Slavs—Finno-Russ Origins—Tavastian and Karelian Finns—The Kwæns—The Lapps—Samoyeds and Permian Finns—Lapp Origins and Migrations—Temperament—Religion—The Volga Finns—The Votyak Pagans—Human Sacrifices—The Bulgars—Origins and Migrations—An Ethnical Transformation—Great and Little Bulgaria—Avars and Magyars—Magyar Origins and early Records—Present Position of the Magyars—Ethnical and Linguistic Relations in Eastern Europe.

IN a very broad way all the western branches of the North Mongol division may be comprised under the collective designation of Finno-Turki Mongols. Jointly they constitute a well-marked section of the family, being distinguished from the eastern section by several features which they have in common, and the most important of which is unquestionably a much larger infusion of Caucasian blood than is seen in any of the Mongolo-Tungusic groups. So pronounced is this feature amongst many Finnish as well as Turkish peoples, that some anthropologists have felt inclined to deny any direct connection between the eastern and western divisions of Mongolian man and to regard the Baltic Finns, for instance, rather as “Allophylian Whites” than as original members of the yellow race. Prichard, to whom we owe this now nearly obsolete term “Allophylian,” held this view¹, and even Sayce is “more than doubtful whether we can class the Mongols physiologically with the Turkish-Tatars [the Turki peoples], or the Ugro-Finns².”

¹ *Natural History of Man*, 1865 ed. pp. 185-6.

² *Science of Language*, 1879, II. p. 190.

It may, indeed, be allowed that at present the great majority of the Finno-Turki populations occupy a position amongst the varieties of mankind which is extremely perplexing for the strict systematist. When the whole division is brought under survey, every shade of transition is observed between the Siberian Samoyeds of the Finnic branch and the steppe Kirghiz of the Turki branch on the one hand, both of whom show Mongol characters in an exaggerated form, and on the other the Osmanli Turks and Hungarian Magyars, most of whom may be regarded as typical Caucasians. Moreover, the difficulty is increased by the fact, already pointed out, that these mixed Mongolo-Caucasic characters occur not only amongst the late historic groups, but also amongst the earliest known groups—"Chudes," Usuns, Uigurs and others—who may be called Proto-Finnish and Proto-Turki peoples. But precisely herein lies the solution of the problem. Most of the region now held by Turki and Finnish nations was originally occupied by long-headed Caucasian men of the late Stone Ages (see above). Then followed the Proto-Mongol intruders from the Tibetan table-land, who partly submerged, partly intermingled with their neolithic neighbours, many thus acquiring those mixed characters by which they have been distinguished from the earliest historic times. Later, further interminglings took place according as the Finno-Turki hordes, leaving their original seats in the Altai and surrounding regions, advanced westwards and came more and more into contact with the European populations of Caucasian type.

We may therefore conclude that the majority of the Finno-Turki were almost from the first a somewhat mixed race, and that during historic times the original Mongol element has gradually yielded to the Caucasian in the direction from east to west. Such is the picture now presented by these heterogeneous populations, who in their primeval eastern seats are still mostly typical Mongols, but have been more and more assimilated to the European type in their new Anatolian, Baltic, Danubian, and Balkan homes.

Observant travellers have often been impressed by this progressive conformity of the Mongolo-Turki to Europeans. During his westward journey through Central Asia Young-husband, on passing from Mongolia to Eastern Turkestan, found that the people, though tall and fine-looking, had at first more of the Mongol cast of feature than he had expected.

"Their faces, however, though somewhat round, were slightly more elongated than the Mongol, and there was considerably more intelligence about them. But there was more roundness, less intelligence, less sharpness in the outlines than is seen in the inhabitants of Kashgar and Yarkand." Then he adds: "As I proceeded westwards I noticed a gradual, scarcely perceptible, change from the round of a Mongolian type to a sharper and yet more sharp type of feature.... As we get farther away from Mongolia, we notice that the faces become gradually longer and narrower; and farther west still, among some of the inhabitants of Afghan Turkestan, we see that the Tartar or Mongol type of feature is almost entirely lost¹." To complete the picture it need only be added that still further west, in Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary, and Finland, the Mongol features are often entirely lost. "The Turks of the west have so much Aryan and Semitic blood in them, that the last vestiges of their original physical characters have been lost, and their language alone indicates their previous descent²."

Before they were broken up and dispersed over half the northern hemisphere by Mongol pressure from the east, the primitive Turki tribes dwelt, according to Turki Cradle. Howorth, mainly between the Ulugh-dagh mountains and the Orkhon river in Mongolia, that is, along the southern slopes and spurs of the Altai-Sayan system from the head waters of the Irtysh to the valleys draining north to Lake Baikal. But the Turki cradle is shifted farther east by Richt-hofen, who thinks that their true home lay between the Amur, the Lena, and the Selenga, where at one time they had their camping-grounds in close proximity to their Mongol and Tungus kinsmen. There is nothing to show that the Yakuts, who are admittedly of Turki stock, ever migrated to their present northern homes in the Lena basin, which has more probably always been their native land³.

But when they come within the horizon of history the Turki are already a numerous nation, with a north-western and south-

¹ *The Heart of a Continent*, 1896, p. 118.

² O. Peschel, *Races of Man*, 1894, p. 380.

³ See Ch. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens*, etc., 1896, p. 25. Reference should perhaps be also made to E. H. Parker's theory (*Academy*, Dec. 21, 1895) that the Turki cradle lay, not in the Altai or Altun-dagh ("Golden Mountains") of North Mongolia, but 1000 miles farther south in the "Golden Mountains" (*Kin-shan*) of the present Chinese province of Kansu. But the evidence relied on is not satisfactory, and indeed in one or two important instances is not evidence at all.

eastern division¹, which may well have jointly occupied the whole region from the Irtysh to the Lena, and both views may thus be reconciled. In any case the Turki domain lay west of the Mongol, and the Altai uplands, taken in the widest sense, may still be regarded as the most probable zone of specialisation for the Turki physical type. The typical characteristics are a yellowish white complexion, a high brachycephalic head, often almost cuboid, due to parieto-occipital flattening (especially noticeable among the Yakuts), an elongated oval face, with straight, somewhat prominent nose, and non-Mongolian eyes. The stature is moderate, with an average of 1.675 m. (5 ft. 6 in.), and a tendency to stoutness.

Intermediate between the typical Turki and the Mongols Hamy places the Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Bashkirs, and Nogais; and between the Turks and Finns those extremely mixed groups of East Russia commonly but wrongly called "Tartars," as well as other transitions between Turk, Slav, Greek, Arab, Osmanli of Constantinople, Kurugli of Algeria and others, whose study shows the extreme difficulty of accurately determining the limits of the Yellow and the White races².

Analogous difficulties recur in the study of the Northern (Siberian) groups—Samoyeds, Ostyaks, Voguls and other Ugrians—who present great individual variations, leading almost without a break from the Mongol to the Lapp, from the Lapp to the Finn, from Finn to Slav and Teuton. Thus may be shown a series of observations continuous between the most typical Mongol, and those aberrant Mongolo-Caucasic groups which answer to Prichard's "Allophylian races." Thus also is confirmed by a study of details the above broad generalisation in which I have endeavoured to determine the relation of the Finno-Turki peoples to the primary Mongol and Caucasic divisions.

Peisker's description of the Scythian invasions of Irania³ may be taken as typical of the whole area; and explains the complexity of the ethnological problems. The steppes and deserts of Central Asia are an impassable barrier for the South Asiatics, the Aryans, but not for the North Asiatic, the Altaian; for him they are an open country, providing him with the indispensable winter

Ural-Altaian
Invasions.

¹ J. B. Bury, *English Historical Rev.*, July, 1897.

² *L'Anthropologie*, vi. No. 3.

³ T. Peisker, "The Asiatic Background," *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 1. 1911, p. 354.

pastures. On the other hand, for the South Asiatic Aryan these deserts are an object of terror, and besides he is not impelled towards them as he has winter pastures near at hand. It is this difference in the distance of summer and winter pastures that makes the North Asiatic Altaian an ever-wandering herdsman, and the grazing part of the Indo-European race cattle-rearers settled in limited districts. Thus, while the native Iranian must halt before the trackless region of steppes and deserts and cannot follow the well-mounted robber-nomad thither, Iran itself is the object of greatest longing to the nomadic Altaian. Here he can plunder and enslave to his heart's delight, and if he succeeds in maintaining himself for a considerable time among the Aryans, he learns the language of the subjugated people and, by mingling with them, loses his Mongol characteristics more and more. If the Iranian is now fortunate enough to shake off the yoke, the dispossessed iranised Altaian intruder inflicts himself upon other lands. So it was with the Scythians. Leaving their families behind in the South Russian steppes, the Scythians invaded Media *c.* B.C. 630, and advanced into Mesopotamia as far as Egypt.

The Scythians. In Media they took Median wives and learned the Median language. After being driven out by Cyaxares, on their return, some 28 years later, they met with a new generation, the offspring of the wives and daughters whom they had left behind, and slaves of an alien race. A hundred and fifty years later Hippocrates remarked their yellowish red complexion, corpulence, smooth skins, and their consequent eunuch-like appearance—all typically Mongol characteristics. Hippocrates was the most celebrated physician and natural philosopher of the ancient world. His evidence is unshakeable and cannot be invalidated by the Aryan speech of the Scythians. Their Mongol type was innate in them, whereas their Iranian speech was acquired and is no refutation of Hippocrates' testimony. On the later Greek vases from South Russian excavations they already appear strongly demongolised and the Altaian is only suggested by their hair, which is as stiff as a horse's mane—hence Aristotle's epithet *εὐθύτριχες*—the characteristic that survives longest among all Ural-Altaian hybrid peoples.

E. H. Parker unfortunately lent the weight of his authority to the statement that the word "Türkö" [Turki] "goes no farther back than the fifth century of our era," and that "so far as recorded history is concerned the name of Turk dates from

this time¹." But Turki tribes bearing this national name had penetrated into East Europe hundreds of years before that time, and were already seated on the Tanais (Don) about the new era. They are mentioned by name both by Pomponius Mela² and by Pliny³, and to the same connection belonged, beyond all doubt, the warlike *Parthians*, who 300 years earlier were already seated on the confines of Iran and Turan, routed the legions of Crassus and Antony, and for five centuries (250 B.C.—229 A.D.) usurped the throne of the "King of Kings," holding sway from the Euphrates to the Ganges, and from the Caspian to the Indian Ocean. Direct descendants of the Parthians are the fierce Turkoman nomads, who for ages terrorised over all the settled populations encircling the Aralo-Caspian depression. Their power has at last been broken by the Russians, but they are still politically dominant in Persia⁴. They have thus been for many ages in the closest contact with Caucasian Iranians, with the result that the present Turkoman type is shown by J. L. Yavorsky's observations to be extremely variable⁵.

Parthians and
Turkomans.

Both the Parthians and the *Massagetae* have been identified with the *Yué-chi*, who figured so largely in the annals of the Han dynasties, and are above mentioned as having been driven west to Sungaria by the Hiung-nu after the erection of the Great Wall.

Massagetae and
Yué-chi.

It has been said that, could we follow the peregrinations of the *Yué-chi* bands from their early seats at the foot of the Kinghan mountains to their disappearance amid the snows of the Western Himalayas, we should hold the key to the solution of the

¹ *Academy*, Dec. 21, 1895, p. 548.

² "Budini Gelonion urbem ligneam habitant; juxta Thyssagetae *Turcaeque* vastas silvas occupant, alunturque venando" (I. 19, p. 27 of Leipzig ed. 1880).

³ "Dein Tanain amnem gemino ore influentem incolunt Sarmatae...Tindari, Thussagetae, *Tyrcae*, usque ad solitudines saltuosius convallibus asperas, etc." (Bk. VIII. 7, Vol. I. p. 234 of Berlin ed. 1886). The variants *Turcae* and *Tyrcae* are noteworthy, as indicating the same vacillating sound of the root vowel (*u* and *y=ü*) that still persists.

⁴ Not only was the usurper Nadir Shah a Turkoman of the Afshár tribe but the present reigning family belongs to the rival clan of Qajar Turkomans long settled in Khorasan, the home of their Parthian forefathers.

⁵ Of 59 Turkomans the hair was generally a dark brown; the eyes brown (45) and light grey (14); face orthognathous (52) and prognathous (7); eyes mostly *not* oblique; cephalic index 68.69 to 81.76, mean 75.64; dolicho 28, sub-dolicho 18, 9 mesati, 4 sub-brachy. Five skulls from an old graveyard at Samarkand were also very heterogeneous, cephalic index ranging from 77.72 to 94.93. This last, unless deformed, exceeds in brachycephaly "le célèbre crâne d'un Slave vende qu'on cite dans les manuels d'anthropologie" (Th. Volkov, *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, pp. 355-7).

obscure problems associated with the migrations of the Mongolo-Turki hordes since the torrent of invasion was diverted westwards by Shih Hwang Ti's mighty barrier. One point, however, seems clear enough, that the Yué-chi were a different people both from the Parthians who had already occupied Hyrcania (Khorasan) at least in the third century B.C., if not earlier, and from the Massagetæ. For the latter were seated on the Yaxartes (Sir-darya) in the time of Cyrus (sixth century B.C.), whereas the Yué-chi still dwelt east of Lake Lob (Tarim basin) in the third century. After their defeat by the Hiung-nu and the Usuns (201 and 165 B.C.), they withdrew to Sogdiana (Transoxiana), reduced the *Ta-Hia* of Baktria, and in 126 B.C.

Indo-Scythians and Graeco-Baktrians. overthrew the Graeco-Baktrian kingdom, which had been founded after the death of Alexander towards the close of the fourth century. But in the

Kabul valley, south of the Hindu-Kush, the Greeks still held their ground for over 100 years, until Kadphises I., king of the Kushans—a branch of the Yué-chi—after uniting the whole nation in a single Indo-Scythian state, extended his conquests to Kabul and succeeded Hermaeus, last of the Greek dynasty (40–20 B.C.?). Kadphises' son Kadaphes (10 A.D.) added to his empire a great part of North India, where his successors of the Yué-chi dynasty reigned from the middle of the first to the end of the fourth century A.D. Here they are supposed by

Dahæ, Ját, and Rájput Origins. some authorities to be still represented by the *Játs* and *Rájputs*, and even Prichard allows that the supposition “does not appear altogether preposterous,” although “the physical characters of the Ját are very different from those attributed to the Yuetschi [Yué-chi] and the kindred tribes [Suns, Kushans, etc.] by the writers cited by Klaproth and Abel Remusat, who say that they are of sanguine complexion with blue eyes.”

We now know that these characters present little difficulty when the composite origin of the Turki people is borne in mind. On the other hand it is interesting to note that the above-mentioned *Ta-Hia* have by some been identified with the warlike Scythian Dahæ², and these with the *Dehiya* or *Dhé*, one of

¹ Quoted by W. Crooke, who points out that “the opinion of the best Indian authorities seems to be gradually turning to the belief that the connection between Ját and Rájputs is more intimate than was formerly supposed” (*The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, III. p. 27).

² Virgil's “indomiti Dahæ” (*Æn.* VIII. 728): possibly the Dehavites (Dievi) of Ezra iv. 9.

the great divisions of the Indian Jâts. But if Rawlinson¹ is right, the term *Dahae* was not racial but social, meaning *rustici*,—the peasantry as opposed to the nomads; hence the Dahae are heard of everywhere throughout Irania, just as *Dehwar*² is still the common designation of the Tajik (Persian) peasantry in Afghanistan and Baluchistan. This is also the view taken by de Ujfalvy, who identifies the Ta-Hia, not with the Scythian Dahae, or with any other particular tribe, but with the peaceful rural population of Baktria³, whose reduction by the Yué-chi, possibly Strabo's Tokhari, was followed by the overthrow of the Graeco-Baktrians. The solution of the puzzling Yué-chi-Jât problem would therefore seem to be that the Dehiya and other Jâts, always an agricultural people, are descended from the old Iranian peasantry of Baktria, some of whom followed the fortunes of their Greek rulers into Kabul valley, while others accompanied the conquering Yué-chi founders of the Indo-Scythian empire into northern India.

Then followed the overthrow of the Yué-chi themselves by the *Yé-tha* (*Ye-tha-i-li-to*) of the Chinese records, that is, the *Ephthalites*, or so-called "White Huns," of the Greek and Arab writers, who about 425 A.D. overran Transoxiana, and soon afterwards penetrated through the mountain passes into the Kabul and Indus valleys.

The "White Huns."

Although confused by some contemporary writers (Zosimus, Am. Marcellinus) with Attila's Huns, M. Drouin has made it clear that the Yé-tha were not Huns (Mongols) at all, but, like the Yué-chi, a Turki people, who were driven westwards about the same time as the Hiung-nu by the Yuan-yuans (see above). Of Hun they had little but the name, and the more accurate Procopius was aware that they differed entirely from "the Huns known to us, not being nomads, but settled for a long time in a fertile region." He speaks also of their white colour and regular features, and their sedentary life⁴ as in the Chinese accounts, where they are described as warlike conquerors of twenty kingdoms, as far as that of the A-si (Arsacides, Parthians), and in their customs resembling the Tu-Kiu (Turks), being in fact "of the same race." On the ruins of the Indo-Scythian (Yué-chi) empire, the White Huns ruled in India

¹ *Herodotus*, Vol. I. p. 413.

² From Pers. *da*, *dih*, *dah*, village (Parsi *dahi*).

³ *Les Aryens*, etc., p. 68 sq.

⁴ *De Bello Persico*, *passim*.

and the surrounding lands from 425 to the middle of the sixth century. A little later came the Arabs, who in 706 captured Samarkand, and under the Abassides were supreme in Central Asia till scattered to the winds by the Oghuz Turki hordes.

From all this it has been suggested that—while the Baktrian peasants entered India as settlers, and are now represented by the agricultural Jâts—the Yué-chi and Yé-tha, both of fair Turki stock, came as conquerors, and are now represented by the Rájputs, “Sons of Kings,” the warrior and land-owning race of northern India. It is significant that these Thákur, “feudal lords,” mostly trace their genealogies from about the beginning of the seventh century, as if they had become Hinduized soon after the fall of the foreign Yé-tha dynasty, while on the other hand “the country legends abound with instances of the conflict between the Rájput and the Bráhman in prehistoric times¹.” This supports the conjecture that the Rájputs entered India, not as “Aryans” of the Kshatriya or military caste, as is commonly assumed, but as aliens (Turki), the avowed foes of the true Aryans, that is, the Bráhman or theocratic (priestly) caste. Thus also is explained the intimate association of the Rájputs and the Jâts from the first—the Rájputs being the Turki leaders of the invasions; and the Jâts their peaceful Baktrian subjects following in their wake.

The theory that the haughty Rájputs are of unsullied “Aryan blood” is scarcely any longer held even by the Rájputs themselves; they are undoubtedly of mixed origin. But the definite physical type which H. H. Risley² describes as characteristic of Rájputs and Jâts in the Kashmir Valley, Punjab and Rajputana, shows them to be wavy-haired dark-skinned dolichocephals, linked rather with the “Caucasic” than the “Mongolian” division.

Nearly related to the White Huns were the *Uigurs*, the *Kao-che* of the Chinese annals, who may claim to be the first

The Uigurs. Turki nation that founded a relatively civilised

State in Central Asia. Before the general commotion caused by the westward pressure of the Hiung-nu, they appear to have dwelt in eastern Turkestan (Kashgaria) between the Usuns and the Sacae, and here they had already made considerable progress under Buddhist influences about the fourth or fifth century of the new era. Later, the Buddhist

¹ Crooke, *op. cit.* IV. p. 221.

² *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1892; *The People of India*, 1908.

missionaries from Tibet were replaced by Christian (Nestorian) evangelists from western Asia, who in the seventh century reduced the Uigur language to written form, adapting for the purpose the Syriac alphabet, which was afterwards borrowed by the Mongols and the Manchus.

This Syriac script—which, as shown by the authentic inscription of Si-ngan-fu, was introduced into China in 635 A.D.—is not to be confused with that of the Orkhon inscriptions¹ dating from 732 A.D., and bearing a certain resemblance to some of the Runic characters, as also to the Korean, at least in form, but never in sound. Yet although differing from the Uiguric, Prof. Thomsen, who has successfully deciphered the Orkhon text, thinks that this script may also be derived, at least indirectly through some of the Iranian varieties, from the same Aramean (Syriac) form of the Semitic alphabet that gave birth to the Uiguric².

The Orkhon
Inscriptions.

It is more important to note that all the non-Chinese inscriptions are in the Turki language, while the Chinese text refers by name to the father, the grandfather, and the great-grandfather of the reigning Khan Bilga, which takes us back nearly to the time when Sinjibu (Dizabul), Great Khan of the Altai Turks, was visited by the Byzantine envoy, Zimarchus, in 569 A.D. In the still extant report of this embassy³ the Turks (Τούρκοι) are mentioned by name, and are described as nomads who dwelt in tents mounted on wagons, burnt the dead, and raised to their memory monuments; statues, and cairns with as many stones as the foes slain by the deceased in battle. It is also stated that they had a peculiar writing system, which must have been that of these Orkhon inscriptions, the Uiguric having apparently been introduced somewhat later.

¹ Discovered in 1889 by N. M. Yadrintseff in the Orkhon valley, which drains to the Selenga affluent of Lake Baikal. The inscriptions, one in Chinese and three in Turki, cover the four sides of a monument erected by a Chinese emperor to the memory of Kyul-teghin, brother of the then reigning Turki Khan Bilga (Mogilan). In the same historical district, where stand the ruins of Karakoram—long the centre of Turki and later of Mongol power—other inscribed monuments have also been found, all apparently in the same Turki language and script, but quite distinct from the glyptic rock carvings of the Upper Yenisei river, Siberia. The chief workers in this field were the Finnish archaeologists, J. R. Aspelin, A. Snellman and Axel O. Heikel, the results of whose labours are collected in the *Inscriptions de l'Énisséi recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie*, Helsingfors, 1889; and *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, etc., Helsingfors, 1892.

² "La source d'où est tirée l'origine de l'alphabet turc, sinon immédiatement, du moins par intermédiaire, c'est la forme de l'alphabet sémitique qu'on appelle araméenne" (*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, Helsingfors, 1894).

³ See Klaproth, *Tableau Historique de l'Asie*, p. 116 sq.

Originally the Uigurs comprised nineteen clans, which at a remote period already formed two great sections:—the On-Uigur ("Ten Uigurs") in the south, and the Toghuz-Uigur ("Nine Uigurs") in the north. The former had penetrated westwards to the Aral Sea¹ as early as the second century A.D., and many of them undoubtedly took part in Attila's invasion of Europe.

Later, all these Western Uigurs, mentioned amongst the hordes that harassed the Eastern Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries, in association especially with the Turki Avars, disappear from history, being merged in the Ugrian and other Finnish peoples of the Volga basin. The Toghuz section also, after throwing off the yoke of the Mongol or Tungus Geugen (Jeu-Jen) in the fifth century, were for a time sub-

The Assena
Turki Dynasty.

merged in the vast empire of the Altai Turks, founded in 552 by Tumen of the House of Assena (A-shi-na), who was the first to assume the title of Kha-Khan, "Great Khan," and whose dynasty ruled over the united Turki and Mongol peoples from the Pacific to the Caspian, and from the Frozen Ocean to the confines of China and Tibet. Both the above-mentioned Sinjibu, who received the Byzantine envoy, and the Bilga Khan of the Orkhon *stele*, belonged to this dynasty, which was replaced in 774 by Pei-lo (Huei-hu), chief of the Toghuz-Uigurs. This is how we are to understand the statement that all the Turki peoples who during the somewhat unstable rule of the Assena dynasty from 552 to 774 had undergone many vicissitudes, and about 580 were even broken into two great sections (Eastern Turks of the Karakoram region and Western Turks of the Tarim basin), were again united

Toghuz-
Uigur Empire.

in one vast political system under the Toghuz-Uigurs. These are henceforth known in history simply as Uigurs, the On branch having, as stated, long disappeared in the West. The centre of their power seems to have oscillated between Karakoram and Turfan in Eastern Turkestan, the extensive ruins of which have been explored by D. A. Klements, Sven Hedin and M. A. Stein. Their vast dominions were gradually dismembered, first by the *Hakas*, or *Ki-li-Kissé*, precursors of the present Kirghiz, who overran the eastern (Orkhon) districts about 840, and then by the Muhammadans of Máwar-en-Nahar (Transoxiana), who over-

¹ They are the *Onoi*, the "Tens," who at this time dwelt beyond the Scythians of the Caspian Sea (Dionysius Periegetes).

threw the "Lion Kings," as the Uigur Khans of Turfan were called, and set up several petty Mussulman states in Eastern Turkestan. Later they fell under the yoke of the Kara-Khitaïs, and were amongst the first to join the devastating hordes of Jenghiz-Khan; their name, which henceforth vanishes from history¹, has been popularly recognised under the form of "Ogres," in fable and nursery tales, but the derivation lacks historical foundation.

At present the heterogeneous populations of the Tarim basin (Kashgaria, Eastern Turkestan), where the various elements have been intermingled, offer a striking contrast to those of the Ili valley (Sungaria), where one invading horde has succeeded and been superimposed on another. Hence the complexity of the Kashgarian type, in which the original "horse-like face" everywhere crops out, absorbing the later Mongolo-Turki arrivals. But in Sungaria the Kalmuk, Chinese, Dungan, Taranchi, and Kirghiz groups are all still sharply distinguished and perceptible at a glance. "Amongst the Kashgarians—a term as vague ethnically as 'Aryan'—Richthofen has determined the successive presence of the Su, Yué-chi, and Usun hordes, as described in the early Chinese chronicles²."

The recent explorations of M. A. Stein have thrown some light on the ethnology of this region, and a preliminary survey of results was prepared and published by T. A. Joyce. He concludes that the original inhabitants were of Alpine type, with, in the west, traces of the Indo-Afghan, and that the Mongolian has had very little influence upon the population³.

In close proximity to the Toghuz-Uigurs dwelt the *Oghuz* (*Ghuz*, *Uz*), for whom eponymous heroes have been provided in the legendary records of the Eastern Turks, although all these terms would appear to be merely shortened forms of Toghuz⁴. But whether true Uigurs, or a distinct branch of

¹ It still persists, however, as a tribal designation both amongst the Kirghiz and Uzbeks, and in 1885 Potanin visited the *Yegurs* of the Edzin-gol valley in south-east Mongolia, said to be the last surviving representatives of the Uigur nation (H. Schott, "Zur Uigurenfrage," in *Abhandl. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1873, pp. 101-21).

² Ch. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, p. 28.

³ "Notes on the Physical Anthropology of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLII. 1912.

⁴ "The Uzi of the Greeks are the Gozz [Ghuz] of the Orientals. They appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and Chorasán, and their name seems to have been extended to the whole Turkoman [Turki] race" [by the Arab writers]; Gibbon, Ch. LVII.

the Turki people, the Ghuz, as they are commonly called by the Arab writers, began their westward migrations about the year 780. After occupying Transoxiana, where they are now represented by the Uzbegs¹ of Bokhara and surrounding lands, they gradually spread as conquerors over all the northern parts of Irania, Asia Minor, Syria, the Russian and Caucasian steppes, Ukraina, Dacia, and the Balkan Peninsula. In most of these lands they formed fresh ethnical combinations both with the Caucasian aborigines, and with many kindred Turki as well as Mongol peoples, some of whom were settled in these regions since neolithic times, while others had either accompanied Attila's expeditions, or followed in his wake (Pechenegs, Komans, Alans, Kipchaks, Kara-Kalpaks), or else arrived later in company with Jenghiz-Khan and his successors (Kazan and Nogai "Tatars"²).

In Russia, Rumania (Dacia), and most of the Balkan Peninsula these Mongolo-Turki blends have been again submerged by the dominant Slav and Rumanian peoples (Great and Little Russians, Servo-Croatians, Montenegrini, Moldavians, and Walachians). But in south-western Asia they still constitute perhaps the majority of the population between the Indus and Constantinople, in many places forming numerous compact communities, in which the Mongolo-Turki physical and mental characters are conspicuous. Such, besides the already mentioned Turkomans of Parthian lineage, are all the nomad and many of the settled inhabitants of Khiva, Ferghana, Karategin, Bokhara, generally comprised under the name of Uzbegs and "Sartes." Such also are the Turki peoples of Afghan Turkestan, and of the neighbouring uplands (Hazaras and Aimaks who claim Mongol descent, though now of Persian speech); the Aderbaijani and many other more scattered groups in Persia; the Nogai and Kumuk tribes of Caucasia, and especially most of the nomad and settled agricultural populations of Asia Minor. The Anatolian peasantry form, in fact, the most numerous and compact division of the Turki family still surviving in any part of their vast domain between the Bosphorus and the Lena.

¹ Who take their name from a mythical Uz-beg, "Prince Uz" (*beg* in Turki = a chief, or hereditary ruler).

² Both of these take their name, not from mythical but from historical chiefs:—*Kazan Khan* of the Volga, "the rival of Cyrus and Alexander," who was however of the house of Jenghiz, consequently not a Turk, like most of his subjects, but a true Mongol (*ob.* 1304); and *Noga*, the ally and champion of Michael Palaeologus

Out of this prolific Oghuz stock arose many renowned chiefs, founders of vast but somewhat unstable empires, such as those of the Gasnevices, who ruled from Persia to the Indus; the Seljuks, who first wrested the Asiatic provinces from Byzantium; the Osmanli, so named from Othman, the Arabised form of Athman, who prepared the way for Orkhan (1326-60), true builder of the Ottoman power, which has alone survived the shipwreck of all the historical Turki states. The vicissitudes of these monarchies, looked on perhaps with too kindly an eye by Gibbon, belong to the domain of history, and it will suffice here to state that from the ethnical standpoint the chief interest centres in that of the Seljukides, covering the period from about the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century. It was under Toghrul-beg of this dynasty (1038-63) that "the whole body of the Turkish nation embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet¹." A little later began the permanent Turki occupation of Asia Minor, where, after the conquest of Armenia (1065-68) and the overthrow of the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes (1071), numerous military settlements, followed by nomad Turkoman encampments, were established by the great Seljuk rulers, Alp Arslan and Malek Shah (1063-92), at all the strategical points. These first arrivals were joined later by others fleeing before the Mongol hosts led by Jenghiz-Khan's successors down to the time of Timur-beg. But the Christians (Greeks and earlier aborigines) were not exterminated, and we read that, while great numbers apostatised, "many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision; and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters" (*ib.*). In other words, the already mixed Turki intruders were yet more modified by further interminglings with the earlier inhabitants of Asia Minor. Those who, following the fortunes of the Othman dynasty, crossed the Bosphorus and settled in Rumelia and some other parts of the Balkan Peninsula, now prefer to call themselves *Osmanli*, even repudiating the national name "Turk" still retained with pride by the ruder peasant

Seljuks and
Osmanli.

against the Mongols marching under the terrible Holagu almost to the shores of the Bosphorus.

¹ Gibbon, Chap. LVII. By the "Turkish nation" is here to be understood the western section only. The Turks of Máwar-en-Nahar and Kashgaria (Eastern Turkestan) had been brought under the influences of Islam by the first Arab invaders from Persia two centuries earlier.

classes of Asia Minor. The latter are often spoken of as "Seljuk Turks," as if there were some racial difference between them and the European Osmanli, and for the distinction there is some foundation. As pointed out by Arminius Vambéry¹, the Osmanli have been influenced and modified by their closer association with the Christian populations of the Balkan lands, while in Anatolia the Seljuks have been able better to preserve the national type and temperament. The true Turki spirit ("das Türkentum") survives especially in the provinces of Lykaonia and Kappadokia, where the few surviving natives were not only Islamised but ethnically fused, whereas in Europe most of them (Bosnians, Albanians) were only Islamised, and here the Turki element has always been slight.

At present the original Turki type and temperament are perhaps best preserved amongst the remote *Yakuts* of the Lena, and the *Kirghiz* groups (*Kirghiz Kazaks* and *The Yakuts.* *Kara Kirghiz*) of the West Siberian steppe and the Pamir uplands. The Turki connection of the Yakuts, about which some unnecessary doubts had been raised, has been set at rest by V. A. Sierochevsky², who, however, describes them as now a very mixed people, owing to alliances with the Tunguses and Russians. They are of short stature, averaging scarcely 5 ft. 4 in., and this observer thought their dark but not brilliant black eyes, deeply sunk in narrow orbits, gave them more of a Red Indian than of a Mongol cast. They are almost the only progressive aboriginal people in Siberia, although numbering not more than 200,000 souls, concentrated chiefly along the river banks on the plateau between the Lena and the Aldan.

In the Yakuts we have an extreme instance of the capacity of man to adapt himself to the *milieu*. They not merely exist, but thrive and display a considerable degree of energy and enterprise in the coldest region on the globe. Within the isothermal of -72° Fahr., Verkhoyansk, in the heart of their territory, is alone included, for the period from November to February, and in this temperature, at which the quicksilver freezes, the Yakut children may be seen gambolling naked in the snow. In midwinter R. Kennan met some of these "men

¹ "Die Stellung der Türken in Europa," in *Geogr. Zeitschrift*, Leipzig, 1897, Part 5, p. 250 sq.

² "Ethnographic Researches," edited by N. E. Vasilofsky for the *Imperial Geogr. Soc.* 1896, quoted in *Nature*, Dec. 3, 1896, p. 97.

of iron," as Wrangel calls them, airily arrayed in nothing but a shirt and a sheepskin, lounging about as if in the enjoyment of the balmy zephyrs of some genial sub-tropical zone.

Although nearly all are Orthodox Christians, or at least baptized as such, they are mere Shamanists at heart, still conjuring the powers of nature, but offering no worship to a supreme deity, of whom they have a vague notion, though he is too far off to hear, or too good to need their supplications. The world of good and evil spirits, however, has been enriched by accessions from the Russian calendar and pandemonium. Thanks to their commercial spirit, the Yakut language, a very pure Turki idiom, is even more widespread than the race, having become a general medium of intercourse for Tungus, Russian, Mongol and other traders throughout East Siberia, from Irkutsk to the Sea of Okhotsk, and from the Chinese frontier to the Arctic Ocean¹.

To some extent W. Radloff is right in describing the great Kirghiz Turki family as "of all Turks most nearly allied to the Mongols in their physical characters, and by their family names such as Kyptshak [Kipchak], Argyn, Naiman, giving evidence of Mongolian descent, or at least of intermixture with Mongols²." But we have already been warned against the danger of attaching too much importance to these tribal designations, many of which seem, after acquiring renown on the battle-field, to have passed readily from one ethnic group to another. There are certain Hindu-Kush and Afghan tribes who think themselves Greeks or Arabs, because of the supposed descent of their chiefs from Alexander the Great or the Prophet's family, and genealogical trees spring up like the conjurer's mango plant in support of such illustrious lineage. The Chagatai (Jagatai) tribes, of Turki stock and speech, take their name from a full-blood Mongol, Chagatai, second son of Jenghiz-Khan, to whom fell Eastern Turkestan in the partition of the empire.

The Kirghiz.

In the same way many Uzbek and Kirghiz Turki tribes are named from famous Mongol chiefs, although no one will deny a strain of true Mongol blood in all these heterogeneous groups. This is evident enough from the square and somewhat flat Mongol features, prominent cheek-bones, oblique eyes, large mouth, feet and hands, yellowish brown complexion, ungainly obese figures and short stature, all of which are charac-

¹ A. Erman, *Reise um die Erde*, 1835, Vol. III. p. 51.

² Quoted by Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 383.

teristic of both sections, the Kara-Kirghiz highlanders, and the Kazaks of the lowlands. Some ethnologists regard these Kirghiz groups, not as a distinct branch of the Mongolo-Turki race, but rather as a confederation of several nomad tribes stretching from the Gobi to the Lower Volga, and mingled together by Jenghiz-Khan and his successors¹.

The true national name is *Kazák*, "Riders," and as they were originally for the most part mounted marauders, or free lances of the steppe, the term came to be gradually applied to all nomad and other horsemen engaged in predatory warfare. It thus at an early date reached the South Russian steppe, where it was adopted in the form of *Kossack* by the Russians themselves. It should be noted that the compound term Kirghiz-Kazak, introduced by the Russians to distinguish these nomads from their own Cossacks, is really a misnomer. The word "Kirghiz," whatever its origin, is never used by the Kazaks in reference to themselves, but only to their near relations, the Kirghiz, or Kara-Kirghiz², of the uplands.

Kazák and
Kossák.

The Kara-
Kirghiz.

These highlanders, who roam the Tian-Shan and Pamir valleys, form two sections:—*On*, "Right," or East, and *Sol*, "Left," or West. They are the *Diko Kamennyi*, that is, "Wild Rock People," of the Russians, whence the expression "Block Kirghiz" still found in some English books of travel. But they call themselves simply Kirghiz, claiming descent from an original tribe of that name, itself sprung from a legendary Kirghiz-beg, from whom are also descended the Chiliks, Kitars and others, all now reunited with the Ons and the Sols.

The Kazaks also are grouped in long-established and still jealously maintained sections—the *Great*, *Middle*, *Little*, and *Inner Horde*—whose joint domain extends from Lake Balkash round the north side of the Caspian down to the Lower Volga³. All accepted the teachings of Islam many centuries ago, but their Muhammadanism⁴ is of a somewhat negative

¹ M. Balkashin in *Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Soc.*, April, 1883.

² *Kara* = "Black," with reference to the colour of their round felt tents.

³ On the obscure relations of these Hordes to the Kara-Kirghiz and prehistoric Usuns some light has been thrown by the investigations of N. A. Aristov, a summary of whose conclusions is given by A. Ivanovski in *Centralblatt für Anthropologie*, etc., 1896, p. 47.

⁴ Although officially returned as Muhammadans of the Sunni sect, Levchine tells as that it is hard to say whether they are Moslem, Pagan (Shamanists), or Manichean, this last because they believe God has made good angels called

character, without mosques, mollahs, or fanaticism, and in practice not greatly to be distinguished from the old Siberian Shamanism. Kumiss, fermented mare's milk, their universal drink, as amongst the ancient Scythians, plays a large part in the life of these hospitable steppe nomads.

One of the lasting results of Castrén's labours has been to place beyond reasonable doubt the Altai origin of the Finnish peoples¹. Their cradle may now be localised with some confidence about the head waters of the The Finns. Yenisei, in proximity to that of their Turki kinsmen. Here is the seat of the *Soyotes* and of the closely allied *Koibals*, *Kamassintzi*, *Matores*, *Karagasses* and others, who occupy a considerable territory along both slopes of the Sayan range, and may be regarded as the primitive stock of the widely diffused Finnish race. Some of these groups have intermingled with the neighbouring Turki peoples, and even speak Turki dialects. But the original Finnish type and speech are well represented by the Soyotes, who are here indigenous, and "from these their...kinsmen, the Samoyeds have spread as breeders of reindeer to the north of the continent from the White Sea to the Bay of Chatanga²." Others, following a westerly route along the foot of the Altai and down the Irtysh to the Urals, appear to have long occupied both slopes of that range, where they acquired some degree of culture, and especially that knowledge of, and skill in working, the precious and other metals, for which the "White-eyed Chudes" were famous, and to which repeated reference is made in the songs of the *Kalevala*³. As

Mankir and bad angels called *Nankir*. Two of these spirits sit invisibly on the shoulders of every person from his birth, the good on the right, the bad on the left, each noting his actions in their respective books, and balancing accounts at his death. It is interesting to compare these ideas with those of the Uzbek prince who explained to Lansdell that at the resurrection, the earth being flat, the dead grow out of it like grass; then God divides the good from the bad, sending these below and those above. In heaven nobody dies, and every wish is gratified; even the wicked creditor may seek out his debtor, and in lieu of the money owing may take over the equivalent in his good deeds, if there be any, and thus be saved (*Through Central Asia*, 1887, p. 438).

¹ See especially his *Reiseberichte u. Briefe aus den Jahren 1845-49*, p. 401 sq.; and *Versuch einer Koibalischen u. Karagassischen Sprachlehre*, 1858, Vol. I. *passim*. But cf. J. Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, 1910, pp. 19-20.

² Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 386.

³ In a suggestive paper on this collection of Finnish songs C. U. Clark (*Forum*, April, 1898, p. 238 sq.) shows from the primitive character of the mythology, the frequent allusions to copper or bronze, and the almost utter absence of Christian ideas and other indications, that these songs must be of great antiquity. "There seems to be no doubt that some parts date back to at least 3000 years ago, before the Finns and the Hungarians had become distinct peoples; for the names of the

there are no mines or minerals in Finland itself, it seems obvious that the legendary heroes of the Finnish national epic must have dwelt in some metalliferous region, which could only be the Altai or the Urals, possibly both.

In any case the Urals became a second home and point of dispersion for the Finnish tribes (*Ugrian Finns*), whose migrations—some prehistoric, some historic—can be followed thence down the Pechora and Dvina to the Frozen Ocean¹, and down the Kama to the Volga. From this artery, where permanent settlements were formed (*Volga Finns*), some conquering hordes went south and west (*Danubian Finns*), while more peaceful wanderers ascended the great river to Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and thence to the shores of the Baltic and Lapland (*Baltic and Lake Finns*).

Thus were constituted the main branches of the widespread Finnish family, whose domain formerly extended from the Katanga beyond the Yenisei to Lapland, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Altai range, the Caspian, and the Volga, with considerable *enclaves* in the Danube basin. But throughout their relatively short historic life the Finnish peoples, despite a characteristic tenacity and power of resistance, have in many places been encroached upon, absorbed, or even entirely eliminated, by more aggressive races, such as the Siberian "Tatars" in their Altai cradleland, the Turki Kirghiz and Bashkirs in the West Siberian steppes and the Urals, the Russians in the Volga and Lake districts, the Germans and Lithuanians in the Baltic Provinces (Kurland, Livonia, Esthonia), the Rumanians, Slavs, and others in the Danube regions, where the Ugrian Bulgars and Magyars have been almost entirely assimilated in type (and the former also in speech) to the surrounding European populations.

Few anthropologists now attach much importance to the views not yet quite obsolete regarding a former extension of

divinities, many of the customs, and even particular incantations and bits of superstitions mentioned in the Kalevala are curiously duplicated in ancient Hungarian writings."

¹ When Ohthere made his famous voyage round North Cape to the Cwen Sea (White Sea) all this Arctic seaboard was inhabited, not by Samoyeds, as at present, but by true Finns, whom King Alfred calls *Beormas*, i.e. the *Biarmians* of the Norsemen, and the *Permiaki* (*Permians*) of the Russians (*Orosius*, I. 13). In mediæval times the whole region between the White Sea and the Urals was often called Permia; but since the withdrawal southwards of the Zirynians and other Permian Finns this Arctic region has been thinly occupied by Samoyed tribes spreading slowly westward from Siberia to the Pechora and Lower Dvina.

the Finnish race over the whole of Europe and the British Isles. Despite the fact that all the Finns are essentially round-headed, they were identified first with the long-headed cavemen, who retreated north with the reindeer, as was the favourite hypothesis, and then with the early neolithic races who were also long-headed. Elaborate but now forgotten essays were written by learned philologists to establish a common origin of the Basque and the Finnic tongues, which have nothing in common, and half the myths, folklore, and legendary heroes of the western nations were traced to Finno-Ugrian sources.

Late West-ward Spread of the Finns.

Now we know better, and both archaeologists and philologists have made it evident that the Finnish peoples are relatively quite recent arrivals in Europe, that the men of the Bronze Age in Finland itself were not Finns but Teutons, and that at the beginning of the new era all the Finnish tribes still dwelt east of the Gulf of Finland¹.

Not only so, but the eastern migrations themselves, as above roughly outlined, appear to have taken place at a relatively late epoch, long after the inhabitants of West Siberia had passed from the New Stone to the Metal Ages. J. R. Aspelin, "founder of Finno-Ugrian archaeology," points out that the Finno-Ugrian peoples originally occupied a geographical position between the Indo-Germanic and the Mongolic races, and that their first Iron Age was most probably a development, between the Yenisei and the Kama, of the so-called Ural-Altai Bronze Age, the last echoes of which may be traced westwards to Finland and North Scandinavia. In the Upper Yenisei districts iron objects had still the forms of the Bronze Age, when that ancient civilisation, associated with the name of the "Chudes," was interrupted by an invasion which introduced the still persisting Turki Iron Age, expelled the aboriginal inhabitants, and thus gave rise to the great migrations first of the Finno-Ugrians, and then of the Turki peoples (Bashkirs,

The Iron and Bronze Ages in the Finnish Lands.

¹ See A. Hackman, *Die Bronzezeit Finnlands*, Helsingfors, 1897; also M. Aspelin, O. Montelius, V. Thomsen and others, who have all, on various grounds, arrived at the same conclusion. Even D. E. D. Europaeus, who has advanced so many heterodox views on the Finnish cradleland, and on the relations of the Finnic to the Mongolo-Turki languages, agrees that "vers l'époque de la naissance de J. C., c'est-à-dire bien longtemps avant que ces tribus immigrassent en Finlande, elles [the western Finns] étaient établies immédiatement au sud des lacs d'Onéga et de Ladoga." (*Travaux Géographiques exécutés en Finlande jus- qu'en 1895*, Helsingfors, 1895, p. 141.)

Volga "Tatars" and others) to and across the Urals. It was here, in the Permian territory between the Irtysh and the Kama, that the West Siberian (Chudish) Iron Age continued its normal and unbroken evolution. The objects recovered from the old graves and kurgans in the present governments of Tver and Jaroslav, and especially at Ananyino on the Kama, centre of this culture, show that here took place the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age some 300 years before the new era, and here was developed a later Iron Age, whose forms are characteristic of the northern Finno-Ugrian lands. The whole region would thus appear to have been first occupied by these immigrants from Asia after the irruption of the Turki hordes into Western Siberia during the first Iron Age, at most some 500 or 600 years before the Christian era. The Finno-Ugrian migrations are thus limited to a period of not more than 2600 years from the present time, and this conclusion, based on archaeological grounds, agrees fairly well with the historical, linguistic, and ethnical data.

It is especially in this obscure field of research that the eminent Danish scholar, Vilhelm Thomsen, has rendered inestimable services to European ethnology. By the light of his linguistic studies A. H. Snellman¹ has elucidated the origins of the Baltic Finns, the Proto-Esthonians, the now all but extinct Livonians, and the quite extinct Kurlanders, from the time when they still dwelt east and south-east of the Baltic lands, under the influence of the surrounding Lithuanian and Gothic tribes, till the German conquest of the Baltic provinces. We learn from Jordanes, to whom is due the first authentic account of these populations, that the various Finnish tribes were subject to the Gothic king Hermanarich, and Thomsen now shows that all the Western Finns (Esthonians, Livonians, Votes, Vepses, Karelians, Tavastians, and others of Finland) must in the first centuries of the new era have lived practically as one people in the closest social union, speaking one language, and following the same religious, tribal, and political institutions. Earlier than the Gothic was the Letto-Lithuanian contact, as shown by the fact that its traces are perceptible in the language of the Volga Finns, in which German loan-words are absent. From these investigations it becomes clear that the Finnish domain must

The Baltic
Finns.

¹ *Finska Forminnesföreningens Tidskrift, Journ. Fin. Antiq. Soc.* 1896, p. 137 sq.

at that time have stretched from the present Esthonia, Livonia, and Lake Ladoga south to the western Dvina.

The westward movement was connected with the Slav migrations. When the Slavs south of the Letts moved west, other Slav tribes must have pushed north, thus driving both Letts and Finns west to the Baltic provinces, which had previously been occupied by the Germans (Goths). Some of the Western Finns must have found their way about 500 A.D., scarcely earlier, into parts of this region, where they came into hostile and friendly contact with the Norsemen. These relations would even appear to be reflected in the Norse mythology, which may be regarded as in great measure an echo of historic events. The wars of the Swedish and Danish kings referred to in these oral records may be interpreted as plundering expeditions rather than permanent conquests, while the undoubtedly active intercourse between the east and west coasts of the Baltic may be explained on the assumption that, after the withdrawal of the Goths, a remnant of the Germanic populations remained behind in the Baltic provinces.

Relations to
Goths, Letts,
and Slavs.

From Nestor's statement that all three of the Varangian princes settled, not amongst Slavish but amongst Finnish peoples, it may be inferred that the Finnish element constituted the most important section in the newly founded Russian State; and it may here be mentioned that the term "Russ" itself has now been traced to the Finnish word *Ruost* (*Ruosti*), a "Norseman." But although at first greatly outnumbering the Slavs, the Finnish peoples soon lost the political ascendancy, and their subsequent history may be summed up in the expression—gradual absorption in the surrounding Slav populations. This inevitable process is still going on amongst all the Volga, Lake and Baltic Finns, except in Finland and Lapland, where other conditions obtain¹.

Finno-Russ
Origins.

Most Finnish ethnologists agree that however much they may now differ in their physical and mental characters and usages, Finns and Lapps were all originally one people. Some

¹ "Les Finnois et leurs congénères ont occupé autrefois, sur d'immenses espaces, les vastes régions forestières de la Russie septentrionale et centrale, et de la Sibérie occidentale; mais plus tard, refoulés et divisés par d'autres peuples, ils furent réduits à des tribus isolées, dont il ne reste maintenant que des débris épars" (*Travaux Géographiques*, p. 132).

variant of *Suoma*¹ enters into the national name of all the Baltic groups—*Suomalaiset*, the Finns of Finland, *Somelaized*, those of Esthonia, *Samelats* (Sabelmelad), the Lapps, *Samoyad*, the Samoyeds. In Ohthere's time the Norsemen called all the Lapps "Finns" (as the Norwegians still do), and that early navigator already noticed that these "Finns" seemed to speak the same language as the Beormas, who were true Finns². Nor do the present inhabitants of Finland, taken as a whole, differ more in outward appearance and temperament from their Lapp neighbours than do the Tavastians and the Karelians, that is, their western and eastern sections, from each other. The Tavastians, who call themselves *Hémelaiset*, "Lake People," have rather broad, heavy frames, small and oblique blue or grey eyes, towy hair and white complexion, without the clear florid colour of the North Germanic and English peoples. The temperament is somewhat sluggish, passive and enduring, morose and vindictive, but honest and trustworthy.

Very different are the tall, slim, active Karelians (*Kari-laiset*, "Cowherds," from *Kari*, "Cow"), with more regular features, straight grey eyes, brown complexion, and chestnut hair, like that of the hero of the Kalevala, hanging in ringlets down the shoulders. Many of the Karelians, and most of the neighbouring *Ingrians* about the head of the Gulf of Finland, as well as the Votes and Vepses of the great lakes, have been assimilated in speech, religion, and usages to the surrounding Russian populations. But the more conservative Tavastians have hitherto tenaciously preserved the national sentiment, language, and traditions. Despite the pressure of Sweden on the west, and of Russia on the east, the Finns still stand out as a distinct European nationality, and continue to cultivate with success their harmonious and highly poetical language. Since the twelfth century they have been Christians, converted to the Catholic faith by "Saint" Eric, King of Sweden, and later to Lutheranism, again by the Swedes³. The national university, removed in 1827 from Abo to Helsingfors, is a centre of much scientific and literary work, and here E. Lönnrot,

¹ A word of doubtful meaning, commonly but wrongly supposed to mean *swamp* or *fen*, and thus to be the original of the Teutonic *Finns*, "Fen People" (see Thomsen, *Einfluss d. ger. Spr. auf die finnisch-lappischen*, p. 14).

² "þa Finnas, him þuhte, and þa Beormas spræcon neah án geðeode" (Orosius, I. 14).

³ See my paper on the Finns in Cassell's *Storehouse of Information*, p. 296.

father of Finnish literature, brought out his various editions of the *Kalevala*, that of 1849 consisting of some 50,000 strophes¹.

A kind of transition from these settled and cultured Finns to the Lapps of Scandinavia and Russia is formed by the still almost nomad, or at least restless *Kwæns*, who formerly roamed as far as the White Sea, which in Alfred's time was known as the *Cwen Sæ* (Kwæn Sea). These Kwæns, who still number nearly 300,000, are even called nomads by J. A. Friis, who tells us that there is a continual movement of small bands between Finland and Scandinavia. "The wandering Kwæns pass round the Gulf of Bothnia and up through Lappmarken to Kittalä, where they separate, some going to Varanger, and others to Alten. They follow the same route as that which, according to historians, some of the Norsemen followed in their wanderings from Finland²." The references of the Sagas are mostly to these primitive Bothnian Finns, with whom the Norsemen first came in contact, and who in the sixth and following centuries were still in a rude state not greatly removed from that of their Ugrian forefathers. As shown by Almqvist's researches, they lived almost exclusively by hunting and fishing, had scarcely a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture, and could prepare neither butter nor cheese from the milk of their half-wild reindeer herds.

The Kwæns.

Such were also, and in some measure still are, the kindred Lapps, who with the allied *Yurak Samoyeds* of Arctic Russia are the only true nomads still surviving in Europe. A. H. Cocks, who travelled amongst all these rude aborigines in 1888, describes the Kwæns who range north to Lake Enara, as "for the most part of a very rough class," and found that the Russian Lapps of the Kola Peninsula, "except as to their clothing and the addition of coffee and sugar to their food supply, are living now much the same life as their ancestors probably lived 2000 or more years ago, a far more primitive life, in fact, than the Reindeer Lapps [of Scandinavia]. They have not yet begun to use tobacco, and reading and writing are entirely unknown among them. Unlike the three other divisions of the race [the Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish Lapps], they are a very cheerful,

The Lapps,
Samoyeds and
Permian Finns.

¹ The fullest information concerning Finland and its inhabitants is found in the *Atlas de Finlande*, with *Texte* (2 vols.) published by the *Soc. Géog. Finland* in 1910.

² *Laila*, Earl of Ducie's English ed., p. 58. The Swedish *Bothnia* is stated to be a translation of *Kwæn*, meaning low-lying coastlands; hence *Kainulaiset*, as they call themselves, would mean "Coastlanders."

light-hearted people, and have the curious habit of expressing their thoughts aloud in extempore sing-song¹."

Similar traits have been noticed in the Samoyeds, whom F. G. Jackson describes as an extremely sociable and hospitable people, delighting in gossip, and much given to laughter and merriment². He gives their mean height as nearly 5 ft. 2 in., which is about the same as that of the Lapps (Von Düben, 5 ft. 2 in., others rather less), while that of the Finns averages 5 ft. 5 in. (Topinard). Although the general Mongol appearance is much less pronounced in the Lapps than in the Samoyeds, in some respects—low stature, flat face with peculiar round outline—the latter reminded Jackson of the Ziryanians, who are a branch of the Beormas (Permian Finns), though like them now much mixed with the Russians. The so-called prehistoric "Lapp Graves," occurring throughout the southern parts of Scandinavia, are now known from their contents to have belonged to the Norse race, who appear to have occupied this region since the New Stone Age, while the Lapp domain seems never to have reached very much farther south than Trondhjem.

All these facts, taken especially in connection with the late arrival of the Finns themselves in Finland, lend support to the view that the Lapps are a branch, not of the Suomalaiset, but of the Permian Finns, and reached their present homes, not from Finland, but from North Russia through the Kanin and Kola Peninsulas, if not round the shores of the White Sea, at some remote period prior to the occupation of Finland by its present inhabitants. This assumption would also explain Ohthere's statement that Lapps and Permians seemed to speak nearly the same language. The resemblance is still close, though I am not competent to say to which branch of the Finno-Ugrian family Lapp is most nearly allied.

Of the Mongol physical characters the Lapp still retains the round low skull (index 83), the prominent cheek-bones, somewhat flat features, and ungainly figure. The temperament, also, is still perhaps more Asiatic than European, although since the eighteenth century they have been Christians—Lutherans in Scandinavia, Orthodox in Russia. In pagan times Shamanism had nowhere acquired a greater development than among the Lapps. A great

**Lapp Origins
and Migrations.**

**Temperament—
Religion.**

¹ *A Boat Journey to Inari*, Viking Club, Feb. 1, 1895.

² *The Great Frozen Land*, 1895, p. 61.

feature of the system were the "rune-trees," made of pine or birch bark, inscribed with figures of gods, men, or animals, which were consulted on all important occasions, and their mysterious signs interpreted by the Shamans. Even foreign potentates hearkened to the voice of these renowned magicians, and in England the expression "Lapland witches" became proverbial, although it appears that there never were any witches, but only wizards, in Lapland. Such rites have long ceased to be practised, although some of the crude ideas of a material after-life still linger on. Money and other treasures are often buried or hid away, the owners dying without revealing the secret, either through forgetfulness, or more probably of set purpose in the hope of thus making provision for the other world.

Amongst the kindred Samoyeds, despite their Russian orthodoxy, the old pagan beliefs enjoy a still more vigorous existence. "As long as things go well with him, he is a Christian; but should his reindeer die, or other catastrophe happen, he immediately returns to his old god *Nurm* or *Chaddi*.... He conducts his heathen services by night and in secret, and carefully screens from sight any image of *Chaddi*¹." Jackson noticed several instances of this compromise between the old and the new, such as the wooden cross supplemented on the Samoyed graves by an overturned sledge to convey the dead safely over the snows of the under-world, and the rings of stones, within which the human sacrifices were perhaps formerly offered to propitiate *Chaddi*; and although these things have ceased, "it is only a few years ago that a Samoyad living on Novaia Zemlia sacrificed a young girl²."

Similar beliefs and practices still prevail not only amongst the Siberian Finns—Ostyaks of the Yenisei and Obi rivers, Voguls of the Urals—but even amongst the Votyaks, Mordvinians, Cheremisses and other scattered groups still surviving in the Volga basin.

The Volga
Finns.

So recently as the year 1896 a number of Votyaks were tried and convicted for the murder of a passing mendicant, whom they had beheaded to appease the wrath of *Kiremet*, Spirit of Evil and author of the famine raging at that time in Central Russia. Besides *Kiremet*, the Votyaks—who appear to have migrated from the Urals to their present homes between the

¹ *The Great Frozen Land*, p. 84.

² Cf. M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, pp. 162, 289 n.

Kama and the Viatka rivers about 400 A.D., and are mostly heathens—also worship Inmar, God of Heaven, to whom they sacrifice animals as well as human beings whenever it can be safely done. We are assured by Baron de Baye that even the few who are baptized take part secretly in these unhallowed rites¹.

To the Ugrian branch, rudest and most savage of all the Finnish peoples, belong these now moribund Volga groups, as well as the fierce Bulgar and Magyar hordes, if not also their precursors, the *Jazyges* and *Rhoxolani*, who in the second century A.D. swarmed into Pannonia from the Russian steppe, and in company with the Germanic Quadi and Marcomanni twice (168 and 172) advanced to the walls of Aquileia, and were twice arrested by the legions of Marcus Aurelius and Verus. Of the once numerous Jazyges, whom Pliny calls Sarmates, there were several branches—*Maeotae*, *Metanastae*, *Basilii* ("Royal")—who were first reduced by the Goths spreading from the Baltic to the Euxine and Lower Danube, and then overwhelmed with the Dacians, Getae, Bastarnae, and a hundred other ancient peoples in the great deluge of the Hunnish invasion.

From the same South Russian steppe—the plains watered by the Lower Don and Dnieper—came the *Bulgars*, first in association with the Huns, from whom they are scarcely distinguished by the early Byzantine writers, and then as a separate people, who, after throwing off the yoke of the Avars (635 A.D.), withdrew before the pressure of the Khazars westwards to the Lower Danube (678). But their records go much farther back than these dates, and while philologists and archaeologists are able to trace their wanderings step by step north to the Middle Volga and the Ural Mountains, authentic Armenian documents carry their history back to the second century B.C. Under the Arsacides numerous bands of Bulgars, driven from their homes about the Kama confluence by civil strife, settled on the banks of the Aras, and since that time (150–114 B.C.) the Bulgars were known to the Armenians as a great nation dwelling away to the north far beyond the Caucasus.

Originally the name, which afterwards acquired such an

¹ *Notes sur les Votiaks payens des Gouvernements de Kazan, et Viatka*, Paris, 1897. They are still numerous, especially in Viatka, where they numbered 240,000 in 1897.

odious notoriety amongst the European peoples, may have been more geographical than ethnical, implying not so much a particular nation as all the inhabitants of the *Bulga* (Volga) between the Kama and the Caspian. But at that time this section of the great river seems to have been mainly held by more or less homogeneous branches of the Finno-Ugrian family, and palethnologists have now shown that to this connection beyond all question belonged in physical appearance, speech, and usages those bands known as Bulgars, who formed permanent settlements in Moesia south of the Lower Danube towards the close of the seventh century¹. Here "these bold and dexterous archers, who drank the milk and feasted on the flesh of their fleet and indefatigable horses; whose flocks and herds followed, or rather guided, the motions of their roving camps; to whose inroads no country was remote or impervious, and who were practised in flight, though incapable of fear²," established a powerful state, which maintained its independence for over seven hundred years (678-1392).

Acting at first in association with the Slavs, and then assuming "a vague dominion" over their restless Sarmatian allies, the Bulgars spread the terror of their hated name throughout the Balkan lands, and were prevented only by the skill of Belisarius from anticipating their Turki kinsmen in the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire itself. Procopius and Jornandes have left terrible pictures of the ferocity, debasement, and utter savagery, both of the Bulgars and of their Slav confederates during the period preceding the foundation of the Bulgar dynasty in Moesia. Wherever the Slavs (Antes, Slavini) passed, no soul was left alive; Thrace and Illyria were strewn with unburied corpses; captives were shut up with horse and cattle in stables, and all consumed together, while the brutal hordes danced to the music of their shrieks and groans. Indescribable was the horror inspired by the Bulgars, who killed for killing's sake, wasted for sheer love of destruction, swept away all works of the human hand, burnt, razed cities, left in their wake nought but a picture of their own cheerless native steppes. Of all the barbarians that harried the Empire, the Bulgars have left the most detested name, although closely rivalled by the Slavs.

¹ See especially Schafarik's classical work *Slavische Alterthümer*, II. p. 159 sq. and V. de Saint-Martin, *Études de Géographie Ancienne et d'Ethnographie asiatique*, II. p. 10 sq., also the still indispensable Gibbon, Ch. XLII., etc.

² *Decline and Fall*, XLII.

To the ethnologist the later history of the Bulgarians is of exceptional interest. They entered the Danubian lands in the seventh century as typical Ugro-Finns, repulsive alike in physical appearance and mental characters. Their dreaded chief, Krum, celebrated his triumphs with sanguinary rites, and his followers yielded in no respects to the Huns themselves in coarseness and brutality. Yet an almost complete moral if not physical transformation had been effected by the middle of the ninth century, when the Bulgars were evangelised by Byzantine missionaries, exchanged their rude Ugrian speech for a Slavonic tongue, the so-called "Church Slav," or even "Old Bulgarian," and became henceforth merged in the surrounding Slav populations. The national name "Bulgar" alone survives, as that of a somewhat peaceful southern "Slav" people, who in our time again acquired the political independence of which they had been deprived by Bajazet I. in 1392.

Nor did this name disappear from the Volga lands after the great migration of Bulgar hordes to the Don basin during the third and fourth centuries A.D. On the contrary, here arose another and a greater Bulgar empire, which was known to the Byzantines of the tenth century as "Black Bulgaria," and later to the Arabs and Western peoples as "Great Bulgaria," in contradistinction to the "Little Bulgaria" south of the Danube¹. It fell to pieces during the later "Tatar" wars, and nothing now remains of the Volga Bulgars, except the Volga itself from which they were named.

In the same region, but farther north, lay also a "Great Hungary," the original seat of those other Ugrian Finns known as Hungarians and Magyars, who followed later in the track of the Bulgars, and like them formed permanent settlements in the Danube basin, but higher up in Pannonia, the present kingdom of Hungary. Here, however, the Magyars had been preceded by the kindred

¹ Rubruquis (thirteenth century): "We came to the Etil, a very large and deep river four times wider than the Seine, flowing from 'Great Bulgaria,' which lies to the north." Farther on he adds: "It is from this Great Bulgaria that issued those Bulgarians who are beyond the Danube, on the Constantinople side" (quoted by V. de Saint-Martin).

² Evidently much nearer to the Ural Mountains, for Jean du Plan Carpin says this "Great Hungary was the land of *Bascart*," that is, *Bashkir*, a large Finno-Turki people, who still occupy a considerable territory in the Orenburg Government about the southern slopes of the Urals.

(or at least distantly connected) Avars, the dominant people in the Middle Danube lands for a great part of the period between the departure of the Huns and the arrival of the Magyars¹. Rolling up like a storm cloud from the depths of Siberia to the Volga and Euxine, sweeping everything before them, reducing Kutigurs, Utigurs, Bulgars, and Slavs, the Avars presented themselves in the sixth century on the frontiers of the empire as the unwelcome allies of Justinian. Arrested at the Elbe by the Austrasian Franks, and hard pressed by the Gepidae, they withdrew to the Lower Danube under the ferocious Khagan Bayan, who, before his overthrow by the Emperor Mauritius and death in 602, had crossed the Danube, captured Sirmium, and reduced the whole region bordering on the Byzantine empire. Later the still powerful Avars with their Slav followers, "the Avar viper and the Slav locust," overran the Balkan lands, and in 625 nearly captured Constantinople. They were at last crushed by Pepin, king of Italy, who reoccupied Sirmium in 799, and brought back such treasure that the value of gold was for a time enormously reduced.

Then came the opportunity of the *Hunagars* (Hungarians), who, after advancing from the Urals to the Volga (550 A.D.), had reached the Danube about 886. Here they were invited to the aid of the Germanic king Arnulf, threatened by a formidable coalition of the western Slavs under the redoubtable Zventibolg, a nominal Christian who would enter the church on horseback followed by his wild retainers, and threaten the priest at the altar with the lash. In the upland Transylvanian valleys the Hunagars had been joined by eight of the derelict Khazar tribes, amongst whom were the *Megers* or *Mogers*, whose name under the form of *Magyar* was eventually extended to the united Hunagar-Khazar nation. Under their renowned king Arpad, son of Almuth, they first overthrew Zventibolg, and then with the help of the surviving Avars reduced the surrounding Slav populations. Thus towards the close of the ninth century was founded in Pannonia the present kingdom of Hungary, in which

Magyar
Origins and
early Records.

¹ With them were associated many of the surviving fugitive On-Uigurs (Gibbon's "Ogors or Varchonites"), whence the report that they were not true Avars. But the Turki genealogies would appear to admit their claim to the name, and in any case the Uigurs and Avars of those times cannot now be ethnically distinguished. *Kandish*, one of their envoys to Justinian, is clearly a Turki name, and *Varchonites* seems to point to the Warkhon (Orkhon), seat in successive ages of the eastern Turks, the Uigurs, and the true Mongols.

were absorbed all the kindred Mongol and Finno-Turki elements that still survived from the two previous Mongolo-Turki empires, established in the same region by the Huns under Attila (430-453), and by the Avars under Khagan Bayan (562-602).

After reducing the whole of Pannonia and ravaging Carinthia and Friuli, the Hunagars raided Bavaria and Italy (899-900), imposed a tribute on the feeble successor of Arnulf (910), and pushed their plundering expeditions as far west as Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy, everywhere committing atrocities that recalled the memory of Attila's savage hordes. Trained riders, archers and javelin-throwers from infancy, they advanced to the attack in numerous companies following hard upon each other, avoiding close quarters, but wearing out their antagonists by the persistence of their onslaughts. They were the scourge and terror of Europe, and were publicly proclaimed by the Emperor Otto I. (955) the enemies of God and humanity.

This period of lawlessness and savagery was closed by the conversion of Saint Stephen I. (997-1038), after which the Magyars became gradually assimilated in type and general culture, but not in speech, to the western nations¹. Their harmonious and highly cultivated language still remains a typical member of the Ural-Altaic family, reflecting in its somewhat composite vocabulary the various Finno-Ugric and Turki elements (Ugrians and Permians from the Urals, Volga Finns, Turki Avars and Khazars), of which the substratum of the Magyar nation is constituted².

"The modern Magyars," says Peisker, "are one of the most varied race-mixtures on the face of the earth, and one of the two chief Magyar types of today—traced to the Arpad era [end of ninth century] by tomb-findings—is dolichocephalic with a narrow visage. There we have before us Altaian origin, Ugrian speech and Indo-European type combined³."

Politically the Magyars continue to occupy a position of vital importance in Eastern Europe, wedged in between the

¹ *Ethnology*, p. 309.

² Vambéry, perhaps the best authority on this point, holds that in its structure Magyar leans more to the Finno-Ugric, and in its vocabulary to the Turki branch of the Ural-Altaic linguistic family. He attributes the effacement of the physical type partly to the effects of the environment, partly to the continuous interminglings of the Ugric, Turki, Slav, and Germanic peoples in Pannonia ("Ueber den Ursprung der Magyaren," in *Mitt. d. K. K. Geograph. Ges.*, Vienna, 1897, XL. Nos. 3 and 4).

³ T. Peisker, "The Asiatic Background," *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. I. 1911, p. 356.

northern and southern Slav peoples, and thus presenting an insurmountable obstacle to the aspirations of the Panslavist dreamers. The fiery and vigorous Magyar nationality, a compact body of about 8,000,000 (1898), holds the boundless plains watered by the Middle Danube and the Theiss, and thus permanently separates the Chechs, Moravians, and Slovaks of Bohemia and the northern Carpathians from their kinsmen, the Yugo-Slavs ("Southern Slavs") of Servia and the other now Slavonised Balkan lands. These Yugo-Slavs are in their turn severed by the Rumanians of Neo-Latin speech from their northern and eastern brethren, the Ruthenians, Poles, Great and Little Russians. Had the Magyars and Rumanians adopted any of the neighbouring Slav idioms, it is safe to say that, like the Ugrian Bulgarians, they must have long ago been absorbed in the surrounding Panslav world, with consequences to the central European nations which it would not be difficult to forecast. Here we have a striking illustration of the influence of language in developing and preserving the national sentiment, analogous in many respects to that now witnessed on a larger scale amongst the English-speaking populations on both sides of the Atlantic and in the Austral lands. From this point of view the ethnologist may unreservedly accept Ehrenreich's trenchant remark that "the nation stands and falls with its speech¹."

¹ "Das Volk steht und fällt mit der Sprache" (*Urbewohner Brasiliens*, 1897, p. 14).

CHAPTER XIII

THE CAUCASIC PEOPLES

General Considerations—Constituent Elements—Past and Present Range—Cradle-land: Africa north of Sudan—Quaternary "Sahara"—Early European and Mauretanian types—The *Guanches*, Types and Affinities—Origin of the European Brachycephals—Summary of Orthodox View—Linguistic Evidence—The *Basques*—The *Iberians*—The *Ligurians* in Rhineland and Italy. Sicilian Origins—*Sicani*; *Siculi*—*Sard* and *Corsican* Origins—Ethnological Relations in Italy—Sergi's Mediterranean Domain—Range of the Mediterraneans—The *Pelasgians*—Theory of pre-Hellenic *Pelasgians*—*Pelasgians* and Mykenean civilisation—Aegean Culture—Other Views—Range of the Hamites in Africa—The Eastern Hamites—The Western "Moors"—General Hamitic Type—Foreign Elements in Mauretania—Arab and Berber Contrasts—The *Tibus*—The Egyptian Hamites—Origins—Theory of Asiatic Origins—Proto-Egyptian type—Armenoid type—Asiatic influence on Egyptian Culture—Negroid mixture—The *Fulah*—Other Eastern Hamites—*Bejas*—*Somals*—Somal Genealogies—The *Galla*—The *Masai*.

CONSPECTUS.

Present Range. *All the extra-tropical habitable lands, except Chinese empire, Japan, and the Arctic zone; inter-tropical America, Arabia, India, and Indonesia; sporadically everywhere.*

Distribution.

*Three main types:—*1. *Southern dolichocephals, Mediterranean;* 2. *Northern Dolichocephals, Nordic;* 3. *Brachycephals, Alpine.*

Physical Characters.

Hair: 1. *Very dark brown or black, wiry, curly or ringletty.* 2. *Very light brown, flaxen, or red, rather long, straight or wavy, smooth and glossy.* 3. *Light chestnut or reddish brown, wavy, rather short and dull.* All oval in section; beard of all full, bushy, straight, or wavy, often lighter than hair of head, sometimes very long. **Colour:** 1. *Very variable—white, light olive, all shades of brown and even blackish (Eastern Hamites and others).* 2. *Florid.* 3. *Pale white, swarthy or very light brown.* **Skull:** 1 and 2 long (72 to 79); 3 round (85 to 87 and upwards); all orthognathous. Cheek-bone of all small, never projecting laterally, sometimes rather high (some Berbers

and Scotch). **Nose**, mostly large, narrow, straight, arched or hooked, sometimes rather broad, heavy, concave and short. **Eyes**: 1. Black or deep brown, but also blue. 2. Mainly blue. 3. Brown, hazel-grey and black.

Stature: 1. Under-sized (mean 1'630 m. 5 ft. 4 in.), but variable (some Hamites, Hindus, and others medium or tall). 2. Tall (mean 1'728 m. 5 ft. 8 or 9 in.). 3. Medium (mean 5 ft. 6 in.), but also very tall (Indonesians 1'750 m. to 1'830 m. 5 ft. 9 to 6 ft.). **Lips**, mostly rather full and well-shaped, but sometimes thin, or upper lip very long (many Irish), and under lip pendulous (many Jews). **Arms**, rather short as compared with Negro. **Legs**, shapely, with calves usually well developed. **Feet**: 1 and 3 small with high instep; 2 rather large.

Temperament: 1 and 3. Brilliant, quick-witted, excitable and impulsive; sociable and courteous, but fickle, untrustworthy, and even treacherous (Iberian, South Italian); often atrociously cruel (many Slavs, Persians, Semites, Indonesians and even South Europeans); aesthetic sense highly, ethic slightly developed. All brave, imaginative, musical, and richly endowed intellectually. 2. Earnest, energetic, and enterprising; steadfast, solid, and stolid; outwardly reserved, thoughtful, and deeply religious; humane, firm, but not normally cruel.

Mental
Characters.

Speech, mostly of the inflecting order with strong tendency towards analytical forms; very few stock languages (Aryan, Ibero-Hamito-Semitic), except in the Caucasus, where stock languages of highly agglutinating types are numerous, and in Indonesia, where one agglutinating stock language prevails.

Religion, mainly Monotheistic, with or without priesthood and sacrifice (Jewish, Christian, Muhammadan); polytheistic and animistic in parts of Caucasus, India, Indonesia, and Africa. Gross superstitions still prevalent in many places.

Culture, generally high—all arts, industries, science, philosophy and letters in a flourishing state now almost everywhere except in Africa and Indonesia, and still progressive. In some regions civilisation dates from an early period (Egypt, South Arabia, Babylonia; the Minoan, Hellenic, Hittite, and Italic cultures). Indonesians and many Hamites still rude, with primitive usages, few arts, no science or letters, and cannibalism prevalent in some places (Gallaland).

Mediterranean type: most Iberians, Corsicans, Sardis,

Sicilians, Italians; some Greeks; Berbers and other Hamites; Arabs and other Semites; some Hindus; Main Divisions. Dravidians, Todas, Ainus, Indonesians, some Polynesians.

Nordic type: *Scandinavians, North-west Germans, Dutch, Flemings, most English, Scotch, some Irish, Anglo-Americans, Anglo-Australasians, English and Dutch of S. Africa; Thrako-Hellenes, true Kurds, most West Persians, Afghans, Dards and Siah-post Kafirs.*

Alpine type: *most French, South Germans, Swiss and Tyrolese; Russians, Poles, Chekhs, Yugo-Slavs; some Albanians and Rumanians; Armenians, Tajiks (East Persians), Galchas.*

It is a remarkable fact that the Caucasian division of the human family, of which nearly all students of the subject are members, with which we are in any case, so to say, on the most intimate terms, and with the constituent elements of which we might consequently be supposed to be best acquainted, is the most debatable field in the whole range of anthropological studies. Why this should be so is not at first sight quite apparent, though the phenomenon may perhaps be partly explained by the consideration that the component parts are really of a more complex character, and thus present more intricate problems for solution, than those of any other division. But to some extent this would also seem to be one of those cases in which we fail to see the wood for the trees. To put it plainly, few will venture to deny that the inherent difficulties of the subject have in recent times been rather increased than diminished by the bold and often mutually destructive theories, and, in some instances one might add, the really wild speculations put forward in the earnest desire to remove the endless obscurities in which the more fundamental questions are undoubtedly still involved. Controversial matter which seemed thrashed out has been reopened, several fresh factors have been brought into play, and the warfare connected with such burning topics as Aryan origins, Ibero-Pelagic relations, European round-heads and long-heads, has acquired renewed intensity amid the rival theories of eminent champions of new ideas.

The question is not made any simpler by the frequent attacks that have been directed from more than one quarter

against the long-established Caucasian terminology, and well-supported objections are raised to the use of such time-honoured names as "Hamitic," "Semitic," and even "Caucasic" itself. But no really satisfactory substitute for "Caucasic" has yet been suggested, and it is doubtful if any name could be found sufficiently comprehensive to include all the races, long-headed and short-headed, fair and dark, tall and short, that we are at present content to group under this non-committal heading. Undoubtedly the term "Caucasic" cannot be defended on ethnical grounds. "Nowhere else in the world probably is so heterogeneous a lot of people, languages and religions gathered together in one place as along the chain of the Caucasus mountains¹." But we are no more called upon to believe that the "Caucasic" peoples originated in the Caucasus, than that the Semites are all descendants of Shem or Hamites of Ham. "Caucasic" has one claim that can never be disputed, that of priority, and it would be well if innovators in these matters were to take to heart the sober language of Ehrenreich, who reminds us that the accepted names are, what they ought to be, "purely conventional," and "historically justified," and "should be held as valid until something better can be found to take their place²." It was considerations such as these, weighing so strongly in favour of current usage, that induced me *stare per vias antiquas* in the *Ethnology*, and consequently also in the present work. Hence, here as there, the Caucasian Division retains its title, together with those of its main subdivisions—Hamitic, Semitic, Keltic, Slavic, Hellenic, Teutonic, Iranic, Galchic and so on.

The chief exception is "Aryan," a linguistic expression forced by the philologists into the domain of Ethnology, where it has no place or meaning. There was of course a time when a community, or group of communities, existed probably in the steppe region between the Carpathians and the Hindu-Kush³,

¹ *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study*, W. Z. Ripley, 1900, p. 437.

² "Diese Namen sind natürlich rein conventionell. Sie sind historisch berechtigt...und mögen Geltung behalten, so lange wir keine zutreffenden an ihre Stelle setzen können" (*Anthropologische Studien*, etc., p. 15).

³ E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 1909, I. 2, discussing the original home of the Indo-Europeans (§ 561, *Das Problem der Heimat und Ausbreitung der Indogermanen*) remarks (p. 800) that the discovery of Tocharish (Sieg und Siegling, "Tocharish, die Sprache der Indo-skythen," *Sitz. d. Berl. Ak.* 1908, p. 915 ff.), a language belonging apparently to the *centum* (Western and European) group, overthrows all earlier conceptions as to the distribution of the Indogermans and gives weight to the hypothesis of their Asiatic origin.

by whom the Aryan mother-tongue was evolved, and who still for a time presented a certain uniformity in their physical characters, were, in fact, of Aryan speech and type. But while their Aryan speech persists in endlessly modified forms, they have themselves long disappeared as a distinct race, merged in the countless other races on whom they, perhaps as conquerors, imposed their Aryan language. Hence we can and must speak of Aryan tongues, and of an Aryan linguistic family, which continues to flourish and spread over the globe. But of an Aryan race there can be no further question since the absorption of the original stock in a hundred other races in remote prehistoric times. Where comprehensive references have to be made, I therefore substitute for Aryans and Aryan race the expression peoples of Aryan speech, at least wherever the unqualified term Aryan might lead to misunderstandings.

This way of looking at the question, which has now become more thorny than ever, has the signal advantage of being indifferent to any preconceived theories regarding the physical characters of that long vanished proto-Aryan race. How great this advantage is may be judged from the mere statement that, while German anthropologists are still almost to a man loyal to the traditional view that the first Aryans were best represented by the tall, long-headed, tawny-haired, blue-eyed Teutonic barbarians of Tacitus—who, Virchow tells us, have completely disappeared from sight in the present population—the Italian school, or at least its chief exponent, Sergi, was equally convinced that the picture was a myth, that such Aryans never existed, that “the true primitive Aryans were not long, but round-headed, not fair but dark, not tall but short, and are in fact to-day best represented by the round-headed Kelts, Slavs, and South Germans¹.”

The fact is that the Aryan prototype has vanished as completely as has the Aryan mother-tongue, and can be conjecturally restored only by processes analogous to those by which Schleicher and other philologists have endeavoured with dubious success to restore the organic Aryan speech as constituted before the dispersion.

But here arises the more important question, by what right are so many and such diverse peoples grouped together and ticketed “Caucasians”? Are they to be really taken as

¹ “Io non dubito di denominare *aria* questa stirpe etc.” (*Umbri, Italici, Atri*, Bologna, 1897, p. 14, and elsewhere).

objectively one, or are they merely artificial groupings, arbitrarily arranged abstractions? Certainly this Caucasian division consists apparently of the most heterogeneous elements, more so than perhaps any other. Hence it seems to require a strong mental effort to sweep into a single category, however elastic, so many different peoples—Europeans, North Africans, West Asiatics, Iranians and others all the way to the Indo-Gangetic plains and uplands, whose complexion presents every shade of colour, except yellow, from white to the deepest brown or even black.

Constituent
Elements.

But they are grouped together in a single division, because of certain common characteristics, and because, as pointed out by Ehrenreich, who himself emphasises these objections, their substantial uniformity speaks to the eye that sees below the surface. At the first glance, except perhaps in a few extreme cases for which it would be futile to create independent categories, we recognise a common racial stamp in the facial expression, the structure of the hair, partly also the bodily proportions, in all of which points they agree more with each other than with the other main divisions. Even in the case of certain black or very dark races, such as the Beja, Somali, and a few other Eastern Hamites, we are reminded instinctively more of Europeans or Berbers than of negroes, thanks to their more regular features and brighter expression. "Those who will accept nothing unless it can be measured, weighed, and numbered, may think perhaps that according to modern notions this appeal to the outward expression is unscientific. Nevertheless nobody can deny the evidence of the obvious physical differences between Caucasians, African Negroes, Mongols, Australians and so on. After all, physical anthropology itself dates only from the moment when we became conscious of these differences, even before we were able to give them exact expression by measurements. It was precisely the general picture that spoke powerfully and directly to the eye¹." The argument need not here be pursued farther, as it will receive abundant illustration in the details to follow.

Since the discovery of the New and the Austral Worlds, the Caucasian division as represented by the chief European

¹ *Anthrop. Studien*, p. 15, "Diese Gemeinsamkeit der Charakteren beweist uns die Blutverwandschaft" (*ib.*).

nations has received an enormous expansion. Here of course it is necessary to distinguish between political and ethnical conquests, as, for instance, those of India, held by military tenure, and of Australia by actual settlement. Politically the whole world has become Caucasian with the exception of half-a-dozen states such as China, Turkey, Japan, Siam, Morocco, still enjoying a real or fictitious autonomy. But, from the ethnical standpoint, those regions in which the Caucasian peoples can establish themselves and perpetuate their race as colonists are alone to be regarded as fresh accessions to the original and later (historical) Caucasian domains. Such fresh accessions are however of vast extent, including the greater part of Siberia and adjoining regions, where Slav branches of the Aryan-speaking peoples are now founding permanent new homes; the whole of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, which have become the inheritance of the Caucasian inhabitants of the British Isles; large tracts in South Africa, already occupied by settlers chiefly from Holland and Great Britain; lastly the New World, where most of the northern continent is settled by full-blood Europeans, mainly British, French and German, while in the rest (Central and South America) the Caucasian immigrants (chiefly from the Iberian peninsula) have formed new ethnical groups by fusion with the aborigines. These new accessions, all acquired within the last 400 years,

**Past and
Present Range.**

may be roughly estimated at about 28 million square miles, which with some 12 millions held throughout the historic period (Africa north of Sudan, most of Europe, South-West and parts of Central and South Asia, Indonesia) gives an extent of 40 million square miles to the present Caucasian domain, either actually occupied or in process of settlement. As the whole of the dry land scarcely exceeds 52 millions, this leaves not more than about 12 millions for the now reduced domains of all the other divisions, and even of this a great part (*e.g.* Tibetan table-land, Gobi, tundras, Greenland) is barely or not at all inhabitable. This, it may be incidentally remarked, is perhaps the best reply to those who have in late years given expression to gloomy forebodings regarding the ultimate fate of the Caucasian races. The "yellow scare" may be dismissed with the reflection that the Caucasian populations, who have inherited or acquired nearly four-fifths of the earth's surface besides the absolute dominion of the high seas, is not destined to be submerged by any conceivable com-

bination of all the other elements, still less by the Mongol alone¹.

Where have we to seek the primeval home of this most vigorous and dominant branch of the human family? Since no direct evidence can be cited, the answer necessarily takes the form of a hypothesis, and must rely mainly on the indirect evidence supplied by our vague knowledge of geographical conditions in pleistocene times, on past and present zoological distributions, with here and there, the assistance of a hint gleaned from archaeological discoveries. We may deal first with the arguments brought forward in favour of Africa north of Sudan. Here were found in quaternary times all the physical elements which zoologists demand for great specialisations—ample space, a favourable climate and abundance of food, besides continuous land connection at two or three points across the Mediterranean, by which the pliocene and early pleistocene faunas moved freely between the two continents.

Caucasic Cradle
—North Africa.

Many of the speculations on the subject failed to convince, largely because the writers took, so to say, the ground from under their own feet, by submerging most of the land under a vast "Quaternary Sahara Sea," which had no existence, and which, moreover, reduced the whole of North Africa to a Mauretanian island, a mere "appendix of Europe," as it is in one place expressly called. Then this inconvenient inland basin was got rid of, not by an outflow—being on the same level as the Atlantic, of which it was, in fact figured as an inlet—but by "evaporation," which process is however somehow confined to this inlet, and does not affect either the Mediterranean or the Atlantic itself. Nor is it explained how the oceanic waters were prevented from rushing in according "as the Sahara sea evaporated to become a desert." The attempt to evolve a "Eurafrican race" in such an impossible area necessarily broke down, other endless perplexities being involved in the initial geological misconception.

The "Quaternary Sahara."

Not only was the Sahara dry land in pleistocene times, but it stood then at a considerably higher altitude than at present, although its mean elevation is still estimated by

¹ Sir W. Crooke's anticipation of a possible future failure of the wheat supply as affecting the destinies of the Caucasian peoples (*Presidential Address at Meeting Br. Assoc.* Bristol, 1898) is an economic question which cannot here be discussed.

Chavanne at 1500 feet above sea-level. "Quaternary deposits cover wide areas, and were at one time supposed to be of marine origin. It was even held that the great sand dunes must have been formed under the sea; but at this date it is scarcely necessary to discuss such a view. The advocates of a Quaternary Sahara Sea argued chiefly from the discovery of marine shells at several points in the middle of the Sahara. But Tournouër has shown that to call in the aid of a great ocean in order to explain the presence of one or two shells is a needless expenditure of energy¹."

At an altitude of probably over 2000 feet the Sahara must have enjoyed an almost ideal climate during late pliocene and pleistocene times, when Europe was exposed to more than one glacial invasion, and to a large extent covered at long intervals by a succession of solid ice-caps. We now know that these stony and sandy wastes were traversed in all directions by great rivers, such as the Massarawa trending south to the Niger, or the Igharghar² flowing north to the Mediterranean, and that these now dry beds may still be traced for hundreds of miles by chains of pools or lakelets, by long eroded valleys and by other indications of the action of running waters.

Nor could there be any lack of vegetable or animal life in a favoured region, which was thus abundantly supplied with natural irrigation arteries, while the tropical heats were tempered by great elevation and at times by the refreshing breezes from sub-arctic Europe.

From these well-watered and fertile lands, some of which continued even in Roman times to be the granary of the empire, came that succession of southern animals—hippopotamus, hyaena, rhinoceros, elephant, cave-lion—which made Europe seem like a "zoological appendix of Africa." In association with this fauna may have come man himself, for although North Africa has not yet yielded evidence of a widespread culture comparable to that of the Palaeolithic Age in Europe,

¹ Ph. Lake, "The Geology of the Sahara," in *Science Progress*, July, 1895.

² This name, meaning in Berber "running water," has been handed down from a time when the Igharghar was still a mighty stream with a northerly course of some 800 miles, draining an area of many thousand square miles, in which there is not at present a single perennial brooklet. It would appear that even crocodiles still survive from those remote times in the so-called Lake Miharo of the Tassili district, where von Bary detected very distinct traces of their presence in 1876. A. E. Pease also refers to a Frenchman "who had satisfied himself of the existence of crocodiles cut off in ages long ago from watercourses that have disappeared" (*Contemp. Review*, July, 1896).

yet the negroid characters of the Grimaldi skeletons have been held to prove an early connection between the opposite shores of the Mediterranean. The hypothesis of African origin is supported by archaeological evidence of the presence of early man all over North Africa from the shores of the Mediterranean through Egypt to Somaliland. Thus one of J. de Morgan's momentous conclusions was that the existence of civilised men in Egypt might be reckoned by thousands, and of the aborigines by myriads of years. These aborigines he identified with the men of the Old Stone Age, of whom he believed four stations to have been discovered—Dahshur, Abydos, Tukh, and Thebes¹.

Of Tunisia Arsène Dumont declared that "the immense period of time during which man made use of stone implements is nowhere so strikingly shown." Here some of the flints were found in abundance under a thick bed of quaternary limestone deposited by the waters of a stream that has disappeared. Hence "the origin of man in Mauretania must be set back to a remote age which deranges all chronology and confounds the very fables of the mythologies²."

The skeleton found in 1914 by Hans Reck at Oldoway (then German East Africa) was claimed to be of Pleistocene Age, but according to A. Keith "the evidence...cannot be accepted as having finally proved this degree of antiquity³."

The doctrine of the specialisation of the dolichocephalic European types in Africa, before their migrations northwards, lies at the base of Sergi's views regarding the African origin of those types. Arguing against the Asiatic origin of the Hamites, as held by Prichard, Virchow, Sayce and others, he points out that this race, scarcely if at all represented in Asia, has an immense range in Africa, where its several sub-varieties must have been evolved before their dispersion over a great part of that continent and of Europe. Then, regarding Hamites and Semites as essentially one, he concludes that Africa is the cradle whence this primitive stock "spread northwards to Europe, where it still persists, especially in the

¹ *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte: L'Âge de la Pierre et des Métaux*, 1897.

² *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 394. This indefatigable explorer remarks, in reference to the continuity of human culture in Tunisia throughout the Old and New Stone Ages, that "ces populations fortement mélangées d'éléments néanderthaloides de la Kromirie fabriquent encore des vases de tous points analogues à la poterie néolithique" (*ib.*).

³ *The Antiquity of Man*, 1915, p. 255.

Mediterranean and its three principal peninsulas, and eastwards to West Asia¹."

The theory of an African cradle for the dolichocephalic Mediterranean type does not lack supporters, but when, relying on the undeniable presence of brachycephals, some writers would derive the Alpine type from the same area, the larger aspect of continental migrations appears to be overlooked (see pp. 451-2 below). To constitute a distinct race, says Zaborowski, a wide geographical area is needed, such as is presented by both shores of the Mediterranean "with the whole of North Africa including the Sahara, which was till lately still thickly peopled²." Then to the question by whom has this North African and Mediterranean region been inhabited since quaternary times, he answers "by the ancestors of our Libyans, Egyptians, Pelasgians, Iberians"; and after rejecting the Asiatic theory, he elsewhere arrives at "the grand generalisation that the whole of North Africa, connected by land with Europe in the Quaternary epoch, formed part of the geographical area of the ancient white race, of which the Egyptians, so far from being the parent stem, would appear to be merely a branch³."

Coming to details, Bertholon⁴, from the human remains found by Carton at Bulla-Regia, determined for Tunisia and Early European surrounding lands two main long-headed types, and Mauretanian one like the Neandertal (occurring both in types. Khumeria, and in the stations abounding in palaeoliths), the other like the later Cro-Magnon dolmen-builders, whom De Quatrefages had already identified with the tall, long-headed, fair, and even blue-eyed Berbers still met in various parts of Mauretania, and formerly represented in the Canary Islands⁵. Bertholon agrees with Collignon that the Mauretanian megalith-builders are of the same race as those of Europe, and besides the two long-headed races

¹ *Africa, Antropologia della Stirpe Camitica*, Turin, 1897, p. 404 sq.

² "Le nord de l'Afrique entière, y compris le Sahara naguère encore fort peuplé," i.e. of course relatively speaking, "Du Dniester à la Caspienne," in *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 81 sq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 654 sq.

⁴ *Résumé de l'Anthropologie de la Tunisie*, 1896, p. 4 sq.

⁵ This identity is confirmed by the characters of three skulls from the dolmens of Madracen near Batna, Algeria, now in the Constantine Museum, found by Letourneau and Papillaut to present striking affinities with the long-headed Cro-Magnon race (Ceph. Index 70, 74, 78); leptoprosopous with prominent glabella, notable alveolar prognathism, and sub-occipital bone projecting chignon-fashion at the back (*Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 347).

describes (1) a short round-headed type in Gerba Island and East Tunisia¹ representing the Libyans proper, and (2) a blond type of the Sahel, Khumeria, and other parts, whom he identifies with the Mazices of Herodotus, with the "Afri," whose name has been extended to the whole continent, and the blond Getulians of the Aures Mountains.

It has been objected that, as established by de Lapouge and Ripley, there are three distinct ethnical zones in Europe:—(1) Nordic: the tall, fair, long-headed northern type, commonly identified by the Germans with the race represented by the osseous remains from the "Reihengräber," *i.e.* the "Germanic," which the French call Kymric or Aryan, for which de Lapouge reserves Linné's *Homo europæus*, and to which Ripley applies the term "Teutonic," because the whole combination of characters "accords exactly with the descriptions handed down to us by the ancients. Such were the Goths, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, Lombards, together with the Danes, Norsemen, Saxons.... History is thus corroborated by natural science." (2) Mediterranean: the southern zone of short, dark, long-heads, *i.e.* the primitive element in Iberia, Italy, South France, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Greece, called Iberians by the English, and identified by many with the Ligurians, Pelasgians, and allied peoples, grouped together by Ripley as Mediterraneanans². (3) Alpine: the central zone of short, medium-sized round-heads with light or chestnut hair, and gray or hazel eye, de Lapouge's and Ripley's *Homo alpinus*, the Kelts or Kelto-Slavs of the French, the Ligurians or Arvernians of Beddoe and other English writers. Here belong the tall Armenoids, the Armenians being descendants of the Hittites.

The question is, Can all these have come from North

¹ He shows ("Exploration Anthropologique de l'Île de Gerba," in *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 424 sq.) that the North African brown brachycephalics, forming the substratum in Mauretania, and very pure in Gerba, resemble the European populations the more they have avoided contact with foreign races. He quotes H. Martin: "Le type brun qui domine dans la Grande Kabylie du Jurjura ressemble singulièrement en majorité au type français brun. Si l'on habillait ces hommes de vêtements européens, vous ne les distingueriez pas de paysans ou de soldats français." He compares them especially to the Bretons, and agrees with Martin that "il y a parmi les Berbères bruns des brachycéphales; je croirais volontiers que les brachycéphales bruns sont des Ligures. Libyens et Ligures paraissent avoir été originairement de la même race." He thinks the very names are the same: "Αἰβύες est exactement le même mot que Αἰγύβες; rien n'était plus fréquent dans les dialectes primitifs que la mutation du *b* en *g*."

² *The Races of Europe*, 1900, *passim*.

Africa? We have seen that this region has yielded the remains of one round-headed and two long-headed prehistoric types. Henri Malbot pointed out that, as far back as we can go, we meet the two quite distinct long-headed Berber types, and he holds that this racial duality is proved by the megalithic tombs (dolmens) of Roknia between Jemmapes and Guelma, possibly some 4000 or 5000 years old. The remains here found by L. L. C. Faidherbe belong to two different races, both dolichocephalic, but one tall, with prominent zygomatic arches and very strong nasal spine (it reads almost like the description of a brawny Caledonian), the other short, with well-balanced skull and small nasal spine¹. The earliest (Egyptian) records refer to brown and blond populations living in North Africa some 5000 years ago, and it has been claimed that the raw materials, so to say, were here to hand both of the fair northern and dark southern European long-heads.

These different races were represented even amongst the extinct Guanches of the Canary Islands, as shown by a study of the 52 heads procured in 1894 by H. Meyer from caves in the archipelago². Three distinct types are determined: (1) Guanche, akin to the Cro-Magnon, tall (5 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. 2 in.), robust, dolicho (78), low, broad face; large eyes, rather short nose; fair, reddish or light chestnut hair; skin and eyes light; ranged throughout the islands, but centred chiefly in Tenerife; (2) "*Semitic*," short (5 ft. 4 or 5 in.), slim, narrow mesocephalic head (81), narrow, long face, black hair, light brown skin, dark eyes; range, Grand Canary, Palma, and Hierro; (3) *Armenoid*, akin to von Luschan's pre-Semitic of Asia Minor; shorter than 1 and 2; very short, broad, and high skull (hyperbrachy, 84); hair, skin and eyes very probably of the West Asiatic brunette type; range, mainly in Gomera, but met everywhere. Many of the skulls had been trepanned, and these are brought into

¹ "Les Chaouias," etc., in *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 1 sq.

² *Ueber eine Schädelammlung von den Kanarischen Inseln*, with F. von Luschan's appendix; also "Ueber die Urbewohner der Kanarischen Inseln," in *Bastian-Festschrift*, 1896, p. 63. The inferences here drawn are in substantial agreement with those of Henry Wallack, in his paper on "The Guanches," in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* June, 1887, p. 158 sq.; and also with J. C. Shruballs, who, however, distinguishes four pre-Spanish types from a study of numerous skulls and other remains from Tenerife in *Proc. Cambridge Phil. Soc.* IX. 154-78. The 152 cave skulls measured by Von Detloff von Behr, *Metrische Studien an 152 Guanchenschädeln*, 1908, agree in the main with earlier results.

direct association with the full-blood Berbers of the Aures Mts. in Algeria, who still practise trepanning for wounds, headaches, and other reasons. This type is scarcely to be distinguished from Lapouge's short brown *Homo alpinus*, which dates from the Stone Ages, and is found in densest masses in the Central Alpine regions, but the true Armenoids are differentiated by their taller stature¹.

How numerous were the inhabitants of France at that time may be inferred from the long list of no less than 4000 neolithic stations given for that region by Ph. Salmon. Of the 688 skulls from those stations measured by him, 57.7 per cent. are classed as dolicho, 21.2 as brachycephalic, and 21.1 as intermediate. This distinguished palethnologist regards the intermediates as the result of crossings between the two others, and of these he thinks the first arrivals were the round-heads, who ranged over a vast area between Brittany, the Channel, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean, 60 per cent. of the graves hitherto studied containing skulls of this type². Belgium also, where a mixture of long- and round-heads is found amongst the men of Furfooz, must be included in this neolithic brachy domain, which can be traced as far westward as the British Isles³. Attempts have been made, as indicated above, to derive these brachycephals, as well as the dolichocephals, from North Africa, in accordance with the view that the latter region was the true centre of evolution and of dispersion for all the main branches of the Caucasian family, but this theory has few supporters at the present time. Sergi recognised the Asiatic origin of the neolithic round-heads and regarded them as "peaceful infiltrations⁴," forerunners of the great invasions of the later Metal Ages. Verneau points out⁵ that when all the neolithic stations in which brachycephalic skulls have been discovered are plotted out on a map of Europe it is easy to recognise a current running almost directly from east to west. Moreover towards the west this current divides, being clearly separated by zones of dolichocephaly.

Origin of the
European
Brachycephals.

¹ For an interpretation of the significance of Armenoid skulls in the Canary Is. see G. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911, pp. 156-7.

² "Dénombrement et Types des Crânes Néolithiques de la Gaule," in *Rev. Mens. de l'École d'Anthrop.* 1896.

³ T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, 1907, p. 424.

⁴ "Infiltrazioni pacifiche." (*Arii e Italici*, p. 124.)

⁵ *L'Anthr.* XII. 1901, pp. 547-8.

Evidence of the presence in early times of tall blond peoples in Africa, side by side with a short dark population, and of brachycephals together with dolichocephals, proves that even in the Stone Age ethnic mixtures had already taken place, and racial purity—if indeed it ever existed—must be sought for in still remoter periods.

With Sergi's view which traces the neolithic inhabitants of the northern shores of the Mediterranean (Iberians, Ligurians, Messapians, Siculi and other Itali, Pelasgians), to North Africa, most anthropologists agree¹. Also that all or most of these were primarily of a dark (brown), short, dolicho type, which still persists both in South Europe and North Africa, and in fact is the race which Ripley properly calls "Mediterranean," although in the west they almost certainly ranged into Brittany and the British Isles. But there are some who hold that the migration was in the opposite direction, and derive the North African branch from Europe, rather than the European branches from Africa. "Anthropologists who have specially studied the question of the Berbers or Kabyles have concluded that they are descendants of prehistoric European invaders who occupied the tracts that suited them best²." In France the neolithic "Mediterranean type" has been regarded as lineally descended from palaeolithic predecessors *in situ*³. Some would even go further still, and claim Europe as the place of origin not only of the Mediterranean but also of the Alpine and Northern branches. "The so-called three races of Europe are in the main the result of variation from a common European stock, a variation due to isolation and natural selection⁴."

Without making any claim to finality the following perhaps best represents orthodox opinion at the present time. It may be assumed that man evolved somewhere in Southern Asia in pliocene times, and that the early groups possessed a tendency to variability which was directed to some extent by geographical conditions and became fixed by isolation. The tall fair blue-eyed dolichocephals (Northern Race) and the short dark dolichocephals

Summary of
Orthodox View.

¹ Cf. G. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911, p. 58 ff.

² T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 266, with list of authorities. See also Sigmund Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, p. 364, and H. H. Johnston, "A Survey of the Ethnography of Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII. 1913, pp. 386 and 387.

³ T. Rice Holmes, *loc. cit.* p. 272.

⁴ W. Wright, *Middlesex Hospital Journal*, XII. 1908, p. 44.

(Mediterranean Race) may be regarded as two varieties of a common stock, the former having their area of characterisation in the steppes north of the plateaus of Eur-Asia, and migrating eastwards and westwards as the country dried after the last glacial phase. The southern branch, entering East Africa from Southern Asia, spread all over North Africa; those in the east were the archaic Egyptians; to the west were the Libyans whose descendants are the Berbers; those who crossed the Mediterranean formed the European branches of the Mediterranean race. With regard to the third type, while the central plateaus of Asia were the centre of dispersal for the true Mongols the western plateaus were the area of characterisation of a non-Mongolian brachycephalic race, which includes short and tall varieties. This is the Alpine race, which extends from the Hindu Kush to Brittany, and formerly spread further westwards into the British Isles¹.

The problem of European origins has often in the past been obscured rather than enlightened by an appeal to linguistics, but linguistic factors cannot altogether be ignored. No doubt the earliest populations of the Mediterranean shores during the Stone Age spoke non-Aryan languages, but it is only here and there that traces—mostly indecipherable—can be discovered. On the African side we have the Berber language still in its full vigour; and apparently little changed for thousands of years. But in Europe the primitive tongues have everywhere been swept away by the Aryan (Hellenic, Italic, Keltic) except in the region of the Pyrenees. In Italy Etruscan is the only language which can with safety be called non-Aryan², though the place of Ligurian is still under dispute³. Of Pelasgian, nothing survives except the statement of Herodotus, a dangerous guide in this matter, that it was a barbaric tongue like the peoples themselves⁴, but Ridgeway considers it Indo-European⁵. Further east, in Asia Minor, neither Karian inscriptions and glosses nor occasional Lydian⁶ and Mysian glosses afford any

Linguistic
Evidence.

¹ See A. C. Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, 1911, pp. 16, 17, 55.

² R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, 1897, and Art. "Etruria: Language," *Ency. Brit.* 1911.

³ Cf. T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 283. "The truth is that linguistic data are insufficient."

⁴ I. 57.

⁵ See p. 465.

⁶ For Lydian see E. Littmann, *Sardis*, "Lydian Inscriptions," 1916, briefly summarised by P. Giles, "Some Notes on the New Lydian Inscriptions," *Camb. Univ. Rep.* 1917, p. 587.

safe basis for establishing relationships¹; the fuller evidence of Lycian leaves its position indeterminate² and the Cretan script is still undeciphered³.

But in Iberia besides the Iberian inscriptions, which, so far, remain indecipherable⁴, there survives the Basque of the western Pyrenees, which beyond question represents a form of speech which was current in the peninsula in pre-Aryan times, and on the assumption of a common origin of the populations on both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar might be

expected to show traces of kinship with Berber.

The Basques. In a posthumous work on this subject⁵, the eminent philologist G. von der Gabelenz goes much further than mere traces, and claims to establish not only phonetic and verbal resemblances, but structural correspondences, so that his editor Graf von der Schulenberg was satisfied as to the relationship of the two languages⁶. This conclusion has not, however, met with general acceptance⁷ and the affinities of Basque with Finno-Ugrian cannot be overlooked⁸. A study of the physical features of the modern Basques adds complexity to the problem. Most observers are agreed that a distinct Basque type exists, and this physical and linguistic singularity has led to various more or less fanciful theories "connecting the Basques with every outlandish language and bankrupt people under the sun⁹," while G. Hervé¹⁰ would regard them as forming by themselves a separate ethnic group, "a fourth European race." On the other hand Feist¹¹ has grounds for

¹ S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, p. 385.

² "The attempts to connect the language with the Indo-European family have been unsuccessful," A. H. Sayce, Art. "Lycia," *Ency. Brit.* 1911. But cf. also S. Feist, *loc. cit.* pp. 385-7; and Th. Kluge, *Die Lykier, ihre Geschichte und ihre Inschriften*, 1910.

³ A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, 1909.

⁴ T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 289 n. 4.

⁵ *Die Verwandtschaft des Baskischen mit den Berbersprachen Nord-Afrikas nachgewiesen*, 1894.

⁶ "Die Sprachen waren mit einander verwandt, das stand ausser Zweifel." (Pref. IV.)

⁷ J. Vinson (*Rev. de linguistique*, XXXVIII. 1905, p. 111) says, "no more absurd book on Basque has appeared of late years." See T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 299 n. 3.

⁸ "In the general series of organised linguistic families it [Basque] would take an intermediate place between the American on the one side and the Ugro-Altaic or Ugrian on the other." Wentworth Webster and Julien Vinson, *Ency. Brit.* 1910, "Basques."

⁹ See W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900, Chap. VIII. "The Basques," pp. 180-204.

¹⁰ *Rev. mensuelle de l'École d'Anthr.* X. 1900, pp. 225-7.

¹¹ S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913.

claiming that the Basques are not, in anthropological respects, essentially different from their Spanish or French neighbours (p. 357) and Jullian¹ denies them more than a superficial unity. These apparently conflicting opinions are reconciled by the conclusions of R. Collignon², himself one of the best authorities on the subject. "The physical traits characteristic of the Basques attach them unquestionably ('indiscutablement') to the great Hamitic branch of the white races, that is to say, to the ancient Egyptians and to the various groups commonly comprised under the collective name of Berbers. Their brachycephaly, slight as it is, cannot outweigh the aggregate of the other characters which they present... It is therefore in this direction and not amongst Finns or Esthonians that is to be sought the parent stem of this paradoxical race. It is North African or European, assuredly not Asiatic." Collignon's explanation of the Basque type is that it is a sub-species of the Mediterranean stock evolved by long-continued and complete isolation, and in-and-in breeding, primarily engendered by peculiarity of language. The effects of heredity, aided perhaps by artificial selection, have generated local peculiarities and have developed them to an extreme³.

"The Iberian question," says Rice Holmes, "is the most complicated and difficult of all the problems of Gallic ethnology⁴." From the testimony of Greek and Roman authors, he draws the following conclusions. "The name Iberian was probably applied, in the first instance, only to the people who dwelt between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. The Iberians once occupied the seaboard of Gaul between the Rhône and the Pyrenees; but Ligurians encroached upon this part of their territory. They also probably occupied the whole eastern region of the Spanish peninsula. But," he adds, "we must bear in mind that the data are both insufficient and uncertain" (p. 288). Later (p. 301), reviewing the evidence collected by philologists and

The Iberians.

¹ *Hist. de la Gaule*, I. 1908, p. 271.

² "La Race Basque," *L'Anthrop.* 1894.

³ W. Z. Ripley, *loc. cit.* p. 200.

⁴ *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 287. Cf. J. Déchelette (*Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique*, II. 1910, p. 27), "As a rule it is wise to attach to this expression (Iberian) merely a geographical value." Reviewing the problems of Iberian origins (which he considers remain unsolved), he quotes as an example of their range, the opinion of C. Jullian (*Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1903, p. 383), "There is no Iberian race. The Iberians were a state constituted at latest towards the 6th century, in the valley of the Ebro, which received, either from strangers or from the indigenous peoples, the name of the river as *nom de guerre*."

by craniologists, he continues, "it seems to me probable that the Iberians comprised both people who spoke, or whose ancestors had spoken, Basque, and people who spoke the language or languages¹ of the 'Iberian' inscriptions; that to observers who had not learned to measure skulls and knew nothing of scientific methods, they appeared to be homogeneous; that the prevailing type was that which is now called Iberian and is seen at its purest in Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily; but that a certain proportion of the whole population may have been characterised by physical features more or less closely resembling those which the modern Basques—French and Spanish—possess in common, and which, as MM. Broca and Collignon tell us, distinguish them from all other European peoples. Finally it seems probable that the true Iberians were the people who spoke the languages of the inscriptions, and that Basque was spoken by a people who occupied Spain and Southern Gaul before the Iberians arrived. But unless and until the key to those appalling inscriptions is found, the problem will never be solved."

The Ligurian question is still more complex than the Iberian. For while no facts can be brought forward in direct

contradiction of the assumption that the Iberians
 The Ligurians. were a short dark dolichocephalic population occupying the Iberian peninsula in the Stone Age, and speaking a non-Indo-European language, no such generalisations with regard to race, physical type, culture, geographical distribution or language are accepted for the Ligurians. Some, with Sergi², consider the Ligurians merely as another branch of the Mediterranean race. Others, with Zaborowski³, tracing their presence among the modern inhabitants of Liguria, regard them as representing the small, dark, brachycephalic race at its purest. While many who recognise the Ligurians as belonging to the Mediterranean physical type deny their affinity with the Iberians. Meyer⁴ considers such a relationship "not improbable," but Déchelette⁵ shows that it is absolutely untenable on archæological grounds. The geo-

¹ J. Vinson (*Rev. de linguistique*, XL. 1907, pp. 5, 211) divides the Iberian inscriptions into three groups, each of which, he believes, represents a different language.

² *The Mediterranean Race*, 1901.

³ *Dict. des sc. anthr.* p. 247, and *Rev. de l'École d'Anthr.* XVII. 1907, p. 365.

⁴ *Geschichte des Altertums*, I. 2, 1909, p. 723.

⁵ *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique*, II. 1910, p. 27 n., see also p. 22 for archæological proofs of "ethnographic distinctions."

graphical range is equally uncertain. C. Jullian¹ distributes Ligurians not only over the whole of Gaul, but also throughout Western Europe, and attributes to them all the glories of neolithic civilisation; A. Bertrand² thinks that they played even in Gaul merely a secondary rôle; Déchelette³, on archaeological evidence, proves that the Ligurian period was *par excellence* the Age of Bronze, and Ridgeway⁴ identifies it with the Terramare civilisation. Finally, if we follow Sergi, the Ligurians must have spoken a non-Indo-European language; but the most eminent authorities are in the main agreed that such traces of Ligurian as remain show affinities with Indo-European⁵. With regard to their physical type Sergi puts forward the view that the true Ligurians were like the Iberians, a section of the long-headed Mediterranean (Afro-European) stock. From prehistoric stations in the valley of the Po he collected 59 skulls, all of this type, and all Ligurian; history and tradition being of accord that before the arrival of the Kelts this region belonged to the Ligurian domain. "If it be true that prehistoric Italy was occupied by the Mediterranean race and by two branches—Ligurian and Pelasgian—of that race, the ancient inhabitants of the Po valley, now exhumed in those 59 skulls, were Ligurian⁶."

These Ligurians have been traced from their homes on the Mediterranean into Central Europe. From a study of the neolithic finds made in Germany, in the district between Neustadt and Worms, C. Mehlis⁷ infers that here the first settlers were Ligurians, who had penetrated up the Rhone and Saône into Rhineland. In the Kircherian Museum in Rome he was surprised to find a marked analogy between objects from the Riviera and from

Ligurians in
Rhineland and
Italy.

¹ *Hist. de la Gaule*, I. Chap. IV. The author makes it clear, however, that his "Ligurians" are not necessarily an ethnic unit, "De l'unité de nom, ne concluons pas à l'unité de race" (119), and later (p. 120), "Ne considérons donc pas les Ligures comme les représentants uniformes d'une race déterminée. Ils sont la population qui habitait l'Europe occidentale avant les invasions connues des Celtes ou des Étrusques, avant la naissance des peuples latin ou ibère. Ils ne sont pas autre chose."

² *Gaule av. Gaulois*, p. 248.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 23 n. 1.

⁴ *Early Age of Greece*, 1901, p. 237 ff., and "Who were the Romans?" *Proc. Brit. Acad.* III. 19, 1908, p. 3.

⁵ See R. S. Conway, Art. "Liguria," *Ency. Brit.* 1911. It may be noted, however, as Feist points out (*Ausbreitung und Herkunft des Indogermanen*, 1913, p. 368), this hypothesis rests on slight foundations ("ruht auf schwachen Füßen").

⁶ *Arii e Italici*, p. 60.

⁷ *Corresbl. d. d. Ges. f. Anthropol.*, Feb. 1898, p. 12.

the Rhine; skulls (both dolicho), vases, stone implements, mill-stones, etc., all alike. Such Ligurian objects, found everywhere in North Italy, occur in the Rhine lands chiefly along the left bank of the main stream between Basel and Mainz, and farther north in the Rheingau at Wiesbaden, and in the Lahn valley.

The Ligurians may of course have reached the Riviera round the coast from Illiberis and Iberia; but the same race is found as the aboriginal element also at the "heel of the boot," and in fact throughout the whole of Italy and all the adjacent islands. This point is now firmly established, and not only Sergi, but several other leading Italian authorities hold that the early inhabitants of the peninsula and islands were Ligurians and Pelasgians, whom they look upon as of the same stock, all of whom came from North Africa, and that, despite subsequent invasions and crossings, this Mediterranean stock still persists, especially in the southern provinces and in the islands—Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Hence it seems more reasonable to bring this aboriginal element straight from Africa by the stepping stones of Pantellaria, Malta, and Gozzo (formerly more extensive than at present, and still strewn with megalithic remains comparable to those of both continents), than by the roundabout route of Iberia and Southern Gaul¹. This is a simple solution of the problem, but it is a question if it is justifiable to extend the name Ligurian to all that branch of the Mediterranean race which undoubtedly forms the substratum of population in Italy and parts of Gaul, ignoring the presence or absence of "Ligurian" culture or traces of Ligurian language. Déchelette², relying chiefly upon archaeological and cultural evidence, sums up as follows: we must consider the Ligurians as Indo-European tribes, whose area of domination had its centre, during the Bronze Age, in North Italy, and the left bank of the Rhone. They were enterprising and energetic in agriculture and in commerce. Together with neighbouring peoples of Illyrian stock they engaged in an indirect but nevertheless regular trade with the northern regions where amber was collected. Among the Ligurians, as among the Illyrians and Hyperboreans, a form of heliolatry was prevalent, popularising the old solar myths in which the

¹ Yet Ligurians are actually planted on the North Atlantic coast of Spain by S. Sempere y Miguel (*Revista de Ciencias Historicas*, 1. v. 1887).

² *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique*, 11. 1910, p. 22.

swan appears to have played an important rôle. Rice Holmes¹ defines more closely their geographical range. "Ligurians undoubtedly lived in South-eastern Gaul, where they were found at least as far north as Bellegarde in the department of the Ain; and, mingled more or less with Iberians, in the departments of the Gard, Hérault, Aude and Pyrénées-Orientales. Most probably they had once occupied the whole eastern region as far north as the Marne, but had been submerged by Celts: and perhaps they had also pushed westward as far as Aquitania." He continues, "Were it possible to regard the theory of MM. d'Arbois de Jubainville and Jullian as more than an interesting hypothesis, we should have to conclude that the Ligurians were simply the long-headed and short-headed peoples who, reinforced perhaps from time to time by hordes of immigrants, had inhabited the whole of Gaul since the Neolithic Age, and of whom the former, or many of them, were descended from palaeolithic hunters; in other words that they were the same people who, after they had been conquered by, or had coalesced with, the Celtic invaders, called themselves *Celtae*: but to say which of them were first known as Ligurians or introduced the Ligurian language would be utterly hopeless. Finally the little evidence we possess tends to show that the people called Ligurians, when they became known to the Greek writers who described them, were a medley of different races."

For Sicily, with which may practically be included the south of Italy, we have the conclusions of G. Patroni based on years of intelligent and patient labours². To Africa this archaeologist traces the palaeolithic men of the west coast of Sicily and of the caves near Syracuse explored by Von Adrian³. "We are forced to conclude that man arrived in Sicily from Africa at a time when the isthmus connecting the island with that Continent still stood above sea-level. He made his appearance about the same time as the elephant, whose remains are associated with human bones especially in the west. He followed the sea coasts, the shells of which offered him sufficient food⁴." He was followed by the neolithic man, whose presence has

Sicilian Origins
—Sicani; Siculi.

¹ *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 287.

² "La Civilisation Primitive dans la Sicile Orientale," in *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 130 sq.; and p. 295 sq.

³ *Prähistorische Studien aus Sicilien*, quoted by Patroni.

⁴ p. 130.

been revealed by the researches of Paolo Orsi at the station of Stentinello on the coast north of Syracuse.

To Orsi is also due the discovery of what he calls the "Aeneolithic Epoch", represented by the bronzes of the Girgenti district. Orsi assigns this culture to the *Siculi*, and divides it into three periods, while regarding the neolithic men of Stentinello as *pre-Siculi*. But Patroni holds that the aeneolithic peoples have a right to the historic name of *Sicani*, and that the true Siculi were those that arrived from Italy in Orsi's second period. It seems no longer possible to determine the true relations of these two peoples, who stand out as distinct throughout early historic times. They are by many² regarded as of one race, although both (*Σικανός*, *Σικελός*) are already mentioned in the Odyssey. But the evidence tends to show that the Sicani represent the oldest element which came direct from Africa in the Stone Age, while the Siculi were a branch of the Ligurians driven in the Metal Age from Italy to the island, which was already occupied by the Sicani, as related by Dionysius Halicarnassus³. In fact this migration of the Siculi may be regarded as almost an historical event, which according to Thucydides took place "about 300 years before the Hellenes came to Sicily". The Siculi bore this national name on the mainland, so that the modern expression "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies" (the late Kingdom of Naples) has its justification in the earliest traditions of the people. Later, both races were merged in one, and the present Sicilian nation was gradually constituted by further accessions of Phoenician (Carthaginian), Greek, Roman, Vandal, Arab, Norman, French and Spanish elements.

Very remarkable is the contrast presented by the conditions prevailing in this ethnical microcosm and those of Sardinia, inhabited since the Stone Ages by one of the most homogeneous groups in the world. From the statistics embodied in R. Livì's

¹ See p. 21.

² It may be mentioned that while Penka makes the Siculi Illyrians from Upper Italy ("Zur Paläoethnologie Mittel- u. Südeuropas," in *Wiener Anthropol. Ges.* 1897, p. 18), E. A. Freeman holds that they were not only Aryans, but closely akin to the Romans, speaking "an undeveloped Latin," or "something which did not differ more widely from Latin than one dialect of Greek differed from another" (*The History of Sicily*, etc., I. p. 488). On the Siculi and Sicani, see E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 1909, I. 2, p. 723, also Art. "Sicily, History," *Ency. Brit.* 1911. Déchelette (*Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique*, II. 1910, p. 17) suggests that Sikelos or Siculus, the eponymous hero of Sicily, may have been merely the personification of the typical Ligurian implement, the bronze sickle (Lat. *secula*, *sicula*).

³ I. 22.

⁴ VI. 2.

*Antropologia Militare*¹ the Sards would almost seem to be cast all in one mould, the great bulk of the natives having the shortest stature, the brownest eyes and hair, the longest heads, the swarthiest complexion of all the Italian populations. "They consequently form quite a distinct variety amongst the Italian races, which is natural enough when we remember the seclusion in which this island has remained for so many ages²." They seem to have been preserved as if in some natural museum to show us what the Ligurian branch of the Mediterranean stock may have been in-neolithic times. Yet they were probably preceded by the microcephalous dwarfish race described by Sergi as one of the early Mediterranean stocks. Their presence in Sardinia has now been determined by A. Niceforo and E. A. Onnis, who find that of about 130 skulls from old graves thirty have a capacity of only 1150 c.c. or under, while several living persons range in height from 4ft. 2 in. to 4ft. 11 in. Niceforo agrees with Sergi in bringing this dwarfish race also from North Africa³.

Sards and
Corsicans.

With remarkable cranial uniformity, similar phenomena are presented by the Corsicans who show "the same exaggerated length of face and narrowness of the forehead. The cephalic index drops from 87 and above in the Alps to about 75 all along the line. Coincidentally the colour of hair and eyes becomes very dark, almost black. The figure is less amply proportioned, the people become light and rather agile. It is certain that the stature at the same time falls to an exceedingly low level: fully 9 inches below the average for Teutonic Europe," although "the people of Northern Africa, pure Mediterranean Europeans, are of medium size⁴."

In the Italian peninsula Sergi holds not only that the aborigines were exclusively of Ligurian, *i.e.* Mediterranean stock, but that this stock still persists in the whole of the region south of the Tiber, although here and there mixed with "Aryan" elements. North of that river these elements increase gradually up to the Italian Alps, and at present are dominant in the valley of the Po⁵. In this way he would

¹ *Parte I. Dati Antropologici ed Etnologici*, Rome, 1896.

² p. 182.

³ *Atti Soc. Rom. d' Antrop.* 1896, pp. 179 and 201.

⁴ Cf. W. Z. Ripley, "Racial Geography of Europe," *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, New York, 1897-9, and *The Races of Europe*, 1900, pp. 54, 175.

⁵ *Arii e Italici*, p. 188. Hence for these Italian Ligurians he claims the name of "Italici," which he refuses to extend to the Aryan intruders in the peninsula. "A questi primi abitatori spetta legittimamente il nome di Italici, non a popolazioni

explain the rising percentage of round-heads in that direction, the Ligurians being for him, as stated, long-headed, the "Aryans" round-headed.

Similarly Beddoe, commenting on Livi's statistics, showing predominance of tall stature, round heads, and fair complexion in North Italy, infers "that a type, the one we usually call the Mediterranean, does really predominate in the south, and exists in a state of comparative purity in Sardinia and Calabria; while in the north the broad-headed Alpine type is powerful, but is almost everywhere more or less modified by, or interspersed with other types—Germanic, Slavic, or of doubtful origin—to which the variations of stature and complexion may probably be, at least in part, attributed¹."

Similar relations prevail in the Balkan peninsula, where the Mediterranean stock is represented by the "Pelagic²"

substratum. Invented, as has been said, for the purpose of confounding future ethnologists, these Pelasgians certainly present an extremely difficult racial problem, the solution of which has hitherto resisted the combined attacks of ancient and modern students. When Dionysius tells us bluntly that they were Greeks³, we fancy the question is settled off-hand, until we find Herodotus describing them a few hundred years earlier as aliens, rude in speech and usages, distinctly not Greeks, and in his time here and there (Thrace, Hellespont) still speaking apparently non-Hellenic dialects⁴. Then Homer several centuries still earlier, with his epithet of

successive [Aryan Umbrians], che avrebbero sloggato i primi abitanti" (p. 60). The result is a little confusing, "Italic" being now the accepted name of the Italian branch of the Aryan linguistic family, and also commonly applied to the Aryans of this Italic speech, although the word *Italia* itself may have been indigenous (Ligurian) and not introduced by the Aryans. It would perhaps be better to regard "Italia" as a "geographical expression" applicable to all its inhabitants, whatever their origin or speech.

¹ *Science Progress*, July, 1894. It will be noticed that the facts, accepted by all, are differently interpreted by Beddoe and Sergi, the latter taking the long-headed element in North Italy as the aboriginal (Ligurian), modified by the later intrusion of round-headed Aryan Slavs, Teutons, and especially Kelts, while Beddoe seems to regard the broad-headed Alpine as the original, afterwards modified by intrusive long-headed types "Germanic, Slavic, or of doubtful origin." Either view would no doubt account for the present relations; but Sergi's study of the prehistoric remains (see above) seems to compel acceptance of his explanation. From the statistics an average height of not more than 5 ft. 4 in. results for the whole of Italy.

² For the identification of the Mediterranean race in Greece with the Pelasgians, see W. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, i. 1901, though Ripley contends (*The Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 407), "Positively no anthropological data on the matter exist."

³ Τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικόν.

⁴ I. 57.

δαῖτοι, occurring both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*¹, exalts them almost above the level of the Greeks themselves. It would seem, therefore, almost impossible to discover a key to the puzzle, one which will also fit in both with Sergi's Mediterranean theory, and with the results of recent archaeological researches in the Aegean lands. The following hypothesis is supported by a certain amount of evidence. If the pre-Mykenaeon culture revealed by Schliemann and others in the Troad, Mykenae, Argos, Tiryns, by Evans and others in Crete, by Cesnola in Cyprus, be ascribed to a pre-Hellenic rather than to a proto-Hellenic people, then the classical references will explain themselves, while this pre-Hellenic race will be readily identified with the Pelasgians, as this term is understood by Sergi.

It is, I suppose, universally allowed that Greece really was peopled before the arrival of the Hellenes, which term is here to be taken as comprising all the invading tribes from the north, of which the Achaeans were perhaps the earliest. On their arrival the Hellenes therefore found the land not only inhabited, but inhabited by a cultured people more civilised than themselves, who could thus be identified with Sergi's Pelasgian branch of the Mediterranean or Afro-European stock, whom the proto-Hellenes naturally regarded as their superiors, and whom their first singers also naturally called δῖοι Πελασγοί². But in the course of a few centuries³ these Pelasgians became Hellenised, all but a few scattered groups, which lagging behind in the general social progress are now also looked upon as barbarians, speaking barbaric tongues, and are so described by contemporary historians. Then these few remnants of a glorious but forgotten past are also merged in the Hellenic

¹ *Il.* x. 429; *Od.* xix. 177.

² "We recognize in the Pelasgi an ancient and honourable race, ante-Hellenic, it is true, but distinguished from the Hellenes only in the political and social development of their age.... Herodotus and others take a prejudiced view when, reasoning back from the subsequent Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, they call the ancient Pelasgians a rude and worthless race, their language barbarous, and their deities nameless. Numerous traditionary accounts, of undoubted authenticity, describe them as a brave, moral, and honourable people, which was less a distinct stock and tribe, than a race united by a resemblance in manners and the forms of life" (W. Wachsmuth, *The Historical Antiquities of the Greeks*, etc., Engl. ed. 1837, I. p. 39). Remarkable words to have been written before the recent revelations of archaeology in Hellas.

³ That the two cultures went on for a long time side by side is evident from the different social institutions and religious ideas prevailing in different parts of Hellas during the strictly historic period.

stream, and can no longer be distinguished from other Greeks by contemporary writers. Hence for Dionysius the Pelasgians are simply Greeks, which in a sense may be true enough. All the heterogeneous elements have been fused in a single Hellenic nationality, built upon a rough Pelasgic substratum, and adorned with all the graces of Hellenic culture.

Now to make good this hypothesis, it is necessary to show, first, that the Pelasgians were not an obscure tribe, a small people confined to some remote corner of Hellas, but a widespread nation diffused over all the land; secondly, that this nation, as far as can now be determined, presented mental and other characters answering to those of Sergi's Mediterraneans, and also such as might be looked for in a race capable of developing the splendid Aegean culture of pre-Hellenic times.

On the first point it has been claimed that the Pelasgians were so widely distributed¹ that the difficulty rather is to

Pelasgians and
Mykenaeen
civilisation.

discover a district where their presence was unknown. They fill the background of Hellenic origins, and even spread beyond the Hellenic

horizon, to such an extent that there seems little room for any other people between the Adriatic and the Hellespont. Thus Ridgeway² has brought together a good many passages which clearly establish their universal range, as well as their occupation especially of those places where have been found objects of Mykenaeen and pre-Mykenaeen culture, such as engraved gems, pottery, implements, buildings, inscriptions in pictographic and syllabic scripts. In Crete they had the "great city of Knossos" in Homer's time³; not only was Mykenae theirs, but the whole of Peloponnesus took the name of Pelasgia; the kings of Tiryns were Pelasgians, and Aeschylus calls Argos a Pelasgian city; an old wall at Athens was attributed to them, and the people of Attica had from all time been Pelasgians⁴. Orchomenus in Boeotia was founded by a colony from Pelasgiotis in Thessaly; Lesbos also was called Pelasgia, and Homer knew of Pelasgians in the Troad. Their settlements are further traced to Egypt, to Rhodes, Cyprus, Epirus—where Dodona was their ancient shrine—and lastly to various parts of Italy.

¹ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπεπόλασε (Strabo, v. 220). This might almost be translated, "they flooded the whole of Greece."

² *Early Age of Greece*, 1901, Chaps. I. and II.

³ *Od.* XIX.

⁴ *Thuc.* I. 3.

Moreover, the Pelasgians were traditionally the civilising element, who taught people to make bread, to yoke the ox to the plough, and to measure land. It would appear from these and other allusions that there were memories of still earlier aborigines, amongst whom the Pelasgians appear as a cultured people, introducing perhaps the arts and industries of the pre-Mykenaeen Age. But the assumption, based on no known data, is unnecessary, and it seems more reasonable to look on this culture as locally developed, to some extent under eastern (Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite?) influences¹. Here it is important to note that the Pelasgians were credited with a knowledge of letters², and all this has been advanced as sufficient confirmation of our second postulate. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the difficulties are not all overcome by this hypothesis, and the further question of language divides even its staunchest supporters into opposing groups, for while Sergi's Mediterraneans necessarily speak a non-Indo-European language³, Ridgeway's Pelasgians speak Aeolic Greek⁴.

Aegean
Culture.

The range and importance of the Pelasgians are most strictly limited by J. L. Myres⁵, who thinks that the Alpine type may even be primitive in the Morea, Mediterranean man being an intruder from the south merely fringing the coast and never penetrating inland. The researches of von Luschan in Lycia support this view⁶, and Ripley's map of the present inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula shows the "Greek contingent closely confined to the sea-coast⁷." Ripley, however, though carefully avoiding any

Other Views.

¹ This idea of an independent evolution of western (European) culture is steadily gaining ground, and is strenuously advocated, amongst others, by M. Salomon Reinach, who has made a vigorous attack on what he calls the "oriental mirage," i.e. the delusion which sees nothing but Asiatic or Egyptian influences everywhere. Sergi of course goes further, regarding the Mediterranean (Iberian, Ligurian, Pelasgian) cultures not only as local growths, but as independent both of Asiatics and of the rude Aryan hordes, who came rather as destroyers than civilisers. This is one of the fundamental ideas pervading the whole of his *Arii e Italici*, and some earlier writings.

² Pausanias, III. 20. 5.

³ G. Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*, 1901. In the main he is supported by philologists. "The languages of the indigenous peoples throughout Asia Minor and the Aegean area are commonly believed to have been non-Indo-European." H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, 1912, p. 179 n.

⁴ W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, 1901, p. 681 ff.

⁵ *The Dawn of History*, 1911, p. 40. For his views on Pelasgians, see *Journ. Hell. St.* 1907, p. 170, and the Art. "Pelasgians" in *Ency. Brit.* 1911.

⁶ E. Petersen and F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, 1889.

⁷ W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, p. 404 ff. The map (facing p. 402) does not include Greece, and the grouping is based on language, not race.

dragging of "Pelasgians" into the question, assumes a primitive substratum of Mediterranean type all over Greece. "The testimony of these ancient Greek crania is perfectly harmonious. All authorities agree that the ancient Hellenes were decidedly long-headed, betraying in this respect their affinity to the Mediterranean Race.... Whether from Attica, from Schliemann's successive cities excavated upon the site of Troy, or from the coast of Asia Minor¹; at all times from 400 B.C. to the third century of our era, it would seem proved that the Greeks were of this dolichocephalic type.... Every characteristic of their modern descendants and every analogy with the neighbouring populations, leads us to the conclusion that the classical Hellenes were distinctly of the Mediterranean racial type, little different from the Phoenicians, the Romans or the Iberians²." Nevertheless Dörpfeld³ claims that there were, from the first, two races in Greece, a Southern, or Aegean, and a Northern, who were the Aryan Achaeans of history, and recent archaeological discoveries certainly support this view.

Another attempt to solve the Pelasgian problem is that of E. Meyer⁴. After enumerating the various areas said to have been occupied by the Pelasgians "*ein grosses Urvolk*" who ranged from Asia Minor to Italy, he pricks the bubble by saying that in reality there were no Pelasgians save in Thessaly, in the fruitful plain of Peneus, hence called "Pelasgic Argos⁵," and later Pelasgiotis. They, like the Dorians, invaded Crete from Thessaly and at the beginning of the first millennium were defeated and enslaved by the incoming Thessalians. These are the only true Pelasgians. The other so-called Pelasgians are the descendants of an eponymous Pelasgos who in genealogical poetry becomes the ancestor of mankind. Since the Arcadians were regarded as the earliest of the indigenous peoples, Pelasgos was made the ancestor of the Arcadians. The name "Pelasgic Argos" was transferred

¹ The Mykenaeen skull found by Bent at Antiparos is described as "abnormally dolichocephalic." W. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, I, 1901, p. 78.

² But in Ridgeway's view the "classical Hellenes" were descendants of tall fair-haired invaders from the North, and in this he has the concurrence of J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, 1911, p. 209.

³ *Mitt. d. K. d. Inst. Athen.* xxx. See H. R. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, 1913, pp. 61-4.

⁴ *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2, 1909, § 507.

⁵ For a discussion of the meaning of "Pelasgic Argos" see H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, 1912, pp. 274 ff. and 278-9, and for his criticism of Meyer, p. 285.

from Thessaly to the Peloponnesian city. Attic Pelasgians were derived from a mistake of Hecataeus¹. So the legend grew. The only real Pelasgian problem, concludes Meyer, is whether the Thessalian Pelasgians were a Greek or pre-Greek people, and he is inclined to favour the latter view. The identity of "the most mysterious people of antiquity" is further obscured by philology, for, as P. Giles points out, their name appears merely to mean "the people of the sea," so that "they do not seem to be in all cases the same stock²."

Whether we call them Pelasgians or no, there would seem to be little doubt that the splendours of Aegean civilisation which have been and still are being gradually revealed by the researches of British, Italian, American and German archaeologists are to be attributed to an indigenous people of Mediterranean type, occupying an area of which Crete was the centre, from the Stone Age, right through the Bronze Age, down to the Northern invasions of the second millennium and the introduction of iron. In range this culture included Greece with its islands, Cyprus, and Western Anatolia, and its influence extended westwards to Sicily, Italy, Sardinia and Spain, and eastwards to Syria and Egypt. Its chief characteristics are (1) an indigenous script both pictographic and linear, with possible affinities in Hittite, Cypriote and South-west Anatolian scripts, but hitherto indecipherable; (2) a characteristic art attempting "to express an ideal in forms more and more closely approaching to realities³," exhibited in frescoes, pottery, reliefs, sculptures, jewelry etc.; (3) a distinctive architectural style, and (4) type of tomb, which have no parallels elsewhere. Excavations at Cnossos go far towards establishing a chronology for the Aegean area. At the base is an immensely thick neolithic deposit, above which come pottery and other objects of Minoan Period I. 1, which are correlated by Petrie with objects found at Abydos, referred by him to the 1st Dynasty (4000 B.C.). Minoan Period II. 2 corresponds with the Egyptian XII Dynasty (2500 B.C.), characteristic Cretan pottery of this period being found in the Fayum. Minoan

¹ But see W. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 1. 1901, p. 138 ff.

² Art. "Indo-European Languages," *Ency. Brit.* 1911.

³ R. S. Conway, Art. "Aegean Civilisation," in *Ency. Brit.* 1911, whence this summary is derived, including the chronology, which is not in all respects universally adopted (see p. 27). For a full discussion of the chronology see J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique*, Vol. II. 1910, *Archéologie celtique ou protohistorique*, Ch. II. § V. Chronologie égéenne, p. 54 ff.

Period III. 1 and 2 synchronises with Dynasty XVIII (1600 to 1400 B.C.). Iron begins to be used for weapons after Period III. 3, and is commonly attributed to incursions from the north, the Dorian invasion of the Greek authors, about 1000 B.C. which led to the destruction of the palace of Cnossos and the substitution of "Geometric" for "Mykenæan" art.

Turning to the African branch of the Mediterranean type, we find it forming not merely the substratum, but the great bulk of the inhabitants throughout all recorded time from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean to Sudan, although since Muhammadan times largely intermingled with the kindred Semitic stock (mainly Arabs) in the north and west, and in the east (Abyssinia) with the same stock since prehistoric times. All are comprised by Sergi¹ in two main divisions:—

1. EASTERN HAMITES, answering to the *Ethiopic Branch* of some writers, of somewhat variable type, comprising the *Old and Modern Egyptians* now mixed with Semitic (Arab) elements; the *Nubians*, the *Bejas*, the *Abyssinians*, collective name of all the peoples between Khor Barka and Shoa (with, in some places, a considerable infusion of Himyaritic or early Semitic blood from South Arabia); the *Gallas* (Gallas proper, Somals, and Afars or Danákils); the *Masai* and *Ba-Hima*.

2. NORTHERN HAMITES, the *Libyan Race* or *Berber (Western) Branch* of some writers, comprising the *Mediterranean Berbers* of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli; the *Atlantic Berbers* (*Shluhs* and others) of Morocco; the *West Saharan Berbers* commonly called *Tuaregs*; the *Tibus* of the East Sahara; the *Fulaks*, dispersed amongst the Sudanese Negroes; the *Guanches* of the Canary Islands.

Of the Eastern Hamites he remarks generally that they do not form a homogeneous division, but rather a number of different peoples either crowded together in separate areas, or dispersed in the territories of other peoples. They agree

¹ In his valuable and comprehensive work, *Africa: Antropologia della Stirpe Camitica*, Turin, 1897. It must not be supposed that this classification is unchallenged. T. A. Joyce, "Hamitic Races and Languages," *Ency. Brit.* 1911, points out that it is impossible to prove the connection between the Eastern and Northern Hamites. The former have a brown skin, with frizzy hair, and are nomadic or semi-nomadic pastors; the latter, whom he would call not Hamites at all, but the Libyan variety of the Mediterranean race, are a white people, with curly hair, and their purest representatives, the Berbers, are agriculturalists. For the fullest and most recent treatment of the subject see the monumental work of Oric Bates, *The Eastern Libyans: An Essay*, 1913, with bibliography.

more in their inner than in their outer characters, without constituting a single ethnical type. The cranial forms are variable, though converging, and evidently to be regarded as very old varieties of an original stock. The features are also variable, converging and characteristic, with straight or arched (aquiloid) nose quite different from the Negro; lips rather thick, but never everted as in the Negro; hair usually frizzled, not wavy; beard thin; skin very variable, brown, red-brown, black-brown, ruddy black, chocolate and coffee-brown, reddish or yellowish, these variations being due to crossings and the outward physical conditions.

The Eastern
Hamites.

In this assumption Sergi is supported by the analogous case of the western Berbers between the Senegal and Morocco, to whom Collignon and Deniker¹ restrict the term "Moor," as an ethnical name. The chief groups, which range from the Atlantic coast east to the camping grounds of the true Tuaregs², are the Trarsas and Braknas of the Senegal river, and farther north the Dwaish (Idoesh), Uled-Bella, Uled-Embark, and Uled-en-Nasûr. From a study of four of these Moors, who visited Paris in 1895, it appears that they are not an Arabo-Berber cross, as commonly supposed, but true Hamites, with a distinct Negro strain, shown especially in their frizzly hair, bronze colour, short broad nose, and thickish lips, their general appearance showing an astonishing likeness to the Bejas, Afars, Somals, Abyssinians, and other Eastern Hamites. This is not due to direct descent, and it is more reasonable to suppose "that at the two extremities of the continent the same causes have produced the same effects, and that from the infusion of a certain proportion of black blood in the Egyptian [eastern] and Berber branches of the Hamites, there have sprung closely analogous mixed groups³." From the true Negro they are also distinguished by their grave and dignified bearing, and still more by their far greater intelligence.

The Western
"Moors."

Both divisions of the Hamites, continues Sergi, agree substantially in their bony structure, and thus form a single

¹ "Les Maures du Sénégal," *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 258 sq.

² That is, the *Sanhaja-an Litham*, those who wear the *litham* or veil, which is needed to protect them from the sand, but has now acquired religious significance, and is never worn by the "Moors."

³ p. 269.

anthropological group with variable skull—pentagonoid, ovoid, ellipsoid, sphenoid, etc., as expressed in his terminology—but constant, that is, each variety recurring in all the branches; face also variable (tetragonal, ellipsoid, etc.), but similarly identical in all the branches; profile non-prognathous; eyes dark, straight, not prominent; nose straight or arched; hair smooth, curly, long, black or chestnut; beard full, also scant; lips thin or slightly tumid, never protruding; skin of various brown shades; stature medium or tall.

Such is the great anthropological division, which was diffused continuously over the greater part of Africa, and round the northern shores of the Mediterranean. According to Stuhlmann¹ it had its origin in South Arabia, if not further east, and entered Africa in the region of Erythrea. He regards the Red Sea as offering no obstacle to migrations, but suggests a possible land connection between the opposite shores.

Nothing is more astonishing than the strange persistence not merely of the Berber type, but of the Berber temperament and nationality since the Stone Ages, despite the successive invasions of foreign peoples during the historic period. First came the Sidonian Phoenicians, founders of Carthage and Utica probably about 1500 B.C. The Greek occupation of Cyrenaica (628 B.C.) was followed by the advent of the Romans on the ruins of the Carthaginian empire. The Romans have certainly left distinct traces of their presence, and some of the Aures highlanders still proudly call themselves *Rumantiya*. These *Shawtias* ("Pastors") form a numerous group, all claiming Roman descent, and even still keeping certain Roman and Christian feasts, such as *Bu Ini*, i.e. Christmas; *Innar* or *January* (New Year's Day); Spring (Easter), etc. A few Latin words also survive such as *urtho* = hortus; *kerrûsh* = quercus (evergreen oak); *milli* = milliarium (milestone).

After the temporary Vandal occupation came the great Arab invasions of the seventh and later centuries, and even these had been preceded by the kindred *Ruadites*, who had in pre-Moslem times already reached Mauretania from Arabia. With

¹ See F. Stuhlmann's invaluable work on African culture and race distribution, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, 1910, especially the map showing the distribution of the Hamites, Pl. II. B.

the Jews, some of whom had also reached Tripolitana before the New Era, a steady infiltration of Negroes from Sudan, and the recent French, Spanish, Italian, and Maltese settlers, we have all the elements that go to make up the cosmopolitan population of Mauretania.

But amid them all the Berbers and the Arabs stand out as the immensely predominant factors, still distinct despite a probably common origin in the far distant past and later interminglings. The Arab remains above all a nomad herdsman, dwelling in tents, without house or hamlet, a good stock-breeder, but a bad husbandman, and that only on compulsion. "The ploughshare and shame enter hand in hand into the family," says the national proverb. To find space for his flocks and herds he continues the destructive work of Carthaginian and Roman, who ages ago cleared vast wooded tracts for their fleets and commercial navies, and thus rendered large areas barren and desolate.

Arab and
Berber Con-
trasts.

The Berber on the contrary loves the sheltering woodlands; he is essentially a highlander who carefully tills the forest glades, settles in permanent homes, and often develops flourishing industries. Arab society is feudal and theocratic, ruled by a despotic Sheikh, while the Berber with his *Jemaa*, or "Witenagemot," and his *Kanun* or unwritten code, feels himself a freeman; and it may well have been this democratic spirit, inherited by his European descendants, that enabled the western nations to take the lead in the onward movement of humanity. The Arab again is a fanatic, ever to be feared, because he blindly obeys the will of Allah proclaimed by his prophets, marabouts, and mahdis¹. But the Berber, a born sceptic, looks askance at theological dogmas; an unconscious philosopher, he is far less of a fatalist than his Semitic neighbour, who associates with Allah countless demons and jins in the government of the world.

In their physical characters the two races also present some striking contrasts, the Arab having the regular oval brain-cap and face of the true Semite, whereas the Berber head is more angular, less finely moulded, with more prominent cheek-bones, shorter and less aquiline nose, which combined with a

¹ The Kababish and Baggara tribes, chief mainstays of former Sudanese revolts, claim to be of unsullied Arab descent with long fictitious pedigrees going back to early Muhammadan times (see p. 74).

slight degree of sub-nasal prognathism, imparts to the features coarser and less harmonious outlines. He is at the same time distinctly taller and more muscular, with less uniformity in the colour of the eye and the hair, as might be expected from the numerous elements entering into the constitution of present Berber populations.

In the social conflict between the Arab and Berber races, the curious spectacle is presented of two nearly equal elements (same origin, same religion, same government, same or analogous tribal groupings, at about the same cultural development) refusing to amalgamate to any great extent, although living in the closest proximity for over a thousand years. In this struggle the Arab seems so far to have had the advantage. Instances of Berberised Arabs occur, but are extremely rare, whereas the Berbers have not only everywhere accepted the Koran, but whole tribes have become assimilated in speech, costume, and usages to the Semitic intruders. It might therefore seem as if the Arab must ultimately prevail. But we are assured by the French observers that in Algeria and Tunisia appearances are fallacious, however the case may stand in Morocco and the Sahara. "The Arab," writes Malbot, to whom I am indebted for some of these details, "an alien in Mauretania, transported to a soil which does not always suit him, so far from thriving tends to disappear, whereas the Berber, especially under the shield of France, becomes more and more aggressive, and yearly increases in numbers. At present he forms at least three-fifths of the population in Algeria, and in Morocco the proportion is greater. He is the race of the future as of the past¹."

This however would seem to apply only to the races, not to their languages, for we are elsewhere told that Arabic is encroaching steadily on the somewhat ruder Berber dialects². Considering the enormous space over which they are diffused, and the thousands of years that some of the groups have ceased to be in contact, these dialects show remarkably slight divergence from the long extinct speech from which all have sprung. Whatever it be called—Kabyile, Zenatia, Shawia, Tamashek, Shluh—the Berber language is still essentially one, and the likeness between the forms current in Morocco, Algeria, the Sahara, and the remote Siwah Oasis on the confines of Egypt,

¹ "Les Chaouias," *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 14.

² p. 17.

is much closer, for instance, than between Norse and English in the sub-Aryan Teutonic group¹.

But when we cross the conventional frontier between the contiguous Tuareg and Tibu domains in the central Sahara the divergence is so great that philologists are still doubtful whether the two languages are even remotely or are at all connected. Ever since the abandonment of the generalisation of Lepsius that Hamitic and Negro were the sole stock languages, the complexity of African linguistic problems has been growing more and more apparent, and Tibu is only one among many puzzles, concerning which there is great discordance of opinion even among the most recent and competent authorities².

The Tibus.

The Tibu themselves, apparently direct descendants of the ancient Garamantes, have their primeval home in the Tibesti range, *i.e.* the "Rocky Mountains," whence they take their name³. There are two distinct sections, the Northern *Tedas*, a name recalling the *Tedamansii*, a branch of the Garamantes located by Ptolemy somewhere between Tripolitana and Phazania (Fezzan), and the Southern *Dazas*, through whom the Tibu merge gradually in the negroid populations of central Sudan. This intermingling with the blacks dates from remote times, whence Ptolemy's remark that the Garamantes seemed rather more "Ethiopians" than Libyans⁴. But there can be no doubt that the full-blood Tibu, as represented by the northern section, are mainly Mediterranean, and although the type of the men is somewhat coarser than that of their Tuareg neighbours, that of the women is almost the finest in Africa. "Their women are charming while still in the bloom of youth, unrivalled amongst their sisters of North Africa for their physical beauty, pliant and graceful figures⁵."

¹ The words collected by Sir H. H. Johnston at Dwirat in Tunis show a great resemblance with the language of the Saharan Tuaregs, and the sheikh of that place "admitted that his people could understand and make themselves understood by those fierce nomads, who range between the southern frontier of Algeria and Tunis and the Sudan" (*Geogr. Jour.*, June, 1898, p. 590).

² Cf. Meinhof, *Die Moderne Sprachforschung in Africa*, 1910.

³ *Ti-bu* = "Rock People"; cf. *Kanem-bu* = "Kanem People," southernmost branch of the family on north side of Lake Chad.

⁴ *Ὀντων δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἥδη μᾶλλον Αἰθιοπῶν* (I. 8). I take ἥδη, which has caused some trouble to commentators, here to mean that, as you advance southwards from the Mediterranean seaboard, you find yourself on entering Garamanian territory already rather amongst Ethiopians than Libyans.

⁵ Reclus, Eng. ed. Vol. XI. p. 429. For the complicated ancestral mixture producing the Tibu see Sir H. H. Johnston; "A Survey of the Ethnography of Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII. 1913, p. 386.

It is interesting to notice amongst these somewhat secluded Saharan nomads the slow growth of culture, and the curious survival of usages which have their explanation in primitive social conditions. "The Tibu is always distrustful; hence, meeting a fellow-countryman in the desert he is careful not to draw near without due precaution. At sight of each other both generally stop suddenly; then crouching and throwing the litham over the lower part of the face in Tuareg fashion, they grasp the inseparable spear in their right and the shanger-mangor, or bill-hook, in their left. After these preliminaries they begin to interchange compliments, inquiring after each other's health and family connections, receiving every answer with expressions of thanksgiving to Allah. These formalities usually last some minutes¹." Obviously all this means nothing more than a doffing of the hat or a shake-hands amongst more advanced peoples; but it points to times when every stranger was a *hostis*, who later became the *hospes* (host, guest).

It will be noticed that the Tibu domain, with the now absolutely impassable Libyan desert², almost completely separates the Mediterranean branch from the Hamites proper. Continuity, however, is accorded, both on the north along the shores of the Mediterranean to the Nile Delta (Lower Egypt), and on the south through Darfur and Kordofan to the White Nile, and thence down the main stream to Upper Egypt, and through Abyssinia, Galla and Somali lands to the Indian Ocean. Between the Nile and the east coast the domain of the Hamites stretches from the equator northwards to Egypt and the Mediterranean.

It appears therefore that Egypt, occupied for many thousands of years by an admittedly Hamitic people, might have been reached either from the west by the Mediterranean route, or down the Nile, or, lastly, it may be suggested that the Hamites were specialised in the Nile valley itself. The point is not easy to decide, because, when appeal is made to the evidence of the Stone Ages, we find nothing to choose between such widely separated regions as Somaliland, Upper Egypt, and Mauretania, all of which have yielded superabundant proofs of the presence of man for incalculable ages, estimated by

¹ Reclus, Eng. ed. Vol. XI. p. 430.

² From the enormous sheets of tuffs near the Kharga Oasis Zettel, geologist of G. Rohlf's expedition in 1876, considered that even this sandy waste might have supported a rich vegetation in Quaternary times.

some palethnologists at several hundred thousand years. In Egypt the palaeoliths indicate not only extreme antiquity, but also that the course of civilisation was uninterrupted by any such crises as have afforded means of chronological classification in Western Europe. The differences in technique are local and geographical, not historic. The Neolithic period tells the same tale, and the use of copper at the beginning of the historic period only slowly replaced the flint industry, which continued during the earlier dynasties down to the period of the Middle Empire and attained a degree of perfection nowhere surpassed. Prehistoric pottery strengthens the evidence of a slow, gradual development, the newer forms nowhere jostling out the old, but co-existing side by side¹.

It might seem therefore that the question of Egyptian origins was settled by the mere statement of the case, and that there could be no hesitation in saying that the Egyptian Hamites were evolved on Egyptian soil, consequently are the true autochthones in the Nile valley. Yet there is no ethnological question more hotly discussed than this of Egyptian origins and culture, for the two seem inseparable. There are broadly speaking two schools: the African, whose fundamental views are thus briefly set forth, and the Asiatic, which brings the Egyptians with all their works from the neighbouring continent. But, seeing that the Egyptians are now admitted to be Hamites, that there are no Hamites to speak of (let it be frankly said, none at all) in Asia, and that they have for untold ages occupied large tracts of Africa, there are several members of the Asiatic school who allow that, not the people themselves, but their culture only came from western Asia (Mesopotamia). If so, this culture would presumably have its roots in the delta, which is first reached by the Isthmus of Suez from Asia, and spread thence, say, from Memphis up the Nile to Thebes and Upper Egypt, and here arises a difficulty. For at that time there was no delta², or at least it

¹ See *Histoire de la Civilisation Égyptienne*, G. Jéquier, 1913, p. 53 ff. Also, concerning pottery, E. Naville, "The Origin of Egyptian Civilisation," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XXXVII. 1907, p. 203.

² The Egyptians themselves had a tradition that when Menes moved north he found the delta still under water. The sea reached almost as far as the Fayum, and the whole valley, except the Thebais, was a malarious swamp (Herod. II. 4). Thus late into historic times memories still survived that the delta was of relatively recent formation, and that the *Retu* (*Romitu* of the Pyramid texts, later *Rotu*, *Romi*, etc.) had already developed their social system before the Lower Nile valley was inhabitable. Hence whether the Nile took 20,000 years (Schweinfurth) or over 70,000, as others hold, to fill in its estuary, the beginning of the Egyptian prehistoric

was only in process of formation, a kind of debatable region between land and water, inhabitable mainly by crocodiles, and utterly unsuited to become the seat of a culture whose characteristic features are huge stone monuments, amongst the largest ever erected by man, and consequently needing solid foundations on *terra firma*. It further appears that although Memphis is very old, Thebes is much older, in other words, that Egyptian culture began in Upper Egypt, and spread not up but down the Nile. On the other hand the Egyptians themselves looked upon the delta as the cradle of their civilisation, although no traces of material culture have survived, or could be expected to survive, in such a soil¹. Moreover it is not necessary to introduce Asiatic invaders by way of Lower Egypt. F. Stuhlmann postulates a land connection between Africa and Arabia, but even without this assumption he regards the Red Sea as affording no hindrance to early infiltrations². Flinders Petrie, while rejecting any considerable water transport for the uncultured prehistoric Egyptians (whom he derives from Libya), detects a succession of subsequent invasions from Asia, the dynastic race crossing the Red Sea to the neighbourhood of Koptos, and Syrian invasions leading to the civilisation of the Twelfth Dynasty, besides the later Hyksos invasions of Semito-Babylonian stock³.

The theory of Asiatic origins is clearly summed up by H. H. Johnston⁴. He regards the earliest inhabitants of Egypt as a dwarfish Negro-like race, not unlike the Congo pygmies of to-day (p. 375), with possibly some trace of Bushman (p. 378), but this population was displaced more than 15,000 years ago by Mediterranean man, who may have penetrated as far as Abyssinia, and may have been linguistically parent of the Fulah⁵. The Fulah type was displaced by the invasions of the Hamites and the Libyans or Berbers. "The Hamites were

Theory of
Asiatic Origins.

period must still be set back many millenniums before the new era. "Ce que nous savons du Sahara, lui-même alors sillonné de rivières, atteste qu'il [the delta] ne devait pas être habitable, pas être constitué à l'époque quaternaire" (M. Zaborowski, *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 655).

¹ G. Jéquier, *Histoire de la Civilisation Égyptienne*, 1913, p. 95, but see E. Naville, "The Origin of Egyptian Civilisation," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XXXVII. 1907, p. 209.

² *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, 1910, p. 143.

³ "Migrations," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XXXVI. 1906.

⁴ "A Survey of the Ethnography of Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII. 1913.

⁵ See p. 482 below.

no doubt of common origin, linguistically and racially, with the Semites, and perhaps originated in that great breeding ground of conquering peoples, South-west Asia. They preceded the Semites, and (we may suppose) after a long stay and concentration in Mesopotamia invaded and colonised Arabia, Southern Palestine, Egypt, Abyssinia, Somaliland and North Africa to its Atlantic shores. The Dynastic Egyptians were also Hamites in a sense, both linguistically and physically; but they seem to have attained to a high civilisation in Western Arabia, to have crossed the Red Sea in vessels, and to have made their first base on the Egyptian coast near Berenice in the natural harbour formed by Ras Benas. From here a long, broad wadi or valley—then no doubt fertile—led them to the Nile in the Thebaid, the first seat of their kingly power¹. The ancestors of the Dynastic Egyptians may have originated the great dams and irrigation works in Western Arabia; and such long struggles with increasing drought may have first broken them in to the arts of quarrying stone blocks and building with stone. Over population and increasing drought may have caused them to migrate across the Red Sea in search of another home; or their migration may have been partly impelled by the Semitic hordes from the north, whom we can imagine at this period—some 9000 to 10,000 years ago—pressing southwards into Arabia and conquering or fusing with the preceding Hamites; just as these latter, no doubt, at an earlier day, had wrested Arabia from the domain of the Negroid and Dravidian” (p. 382).

That the founding of the First Dynasty was coincident with a physical change in the population, is proved by the thousands of skeletons and mummies examined by Elliot Smith², who regards the Pre-dynastic Egyptians as “probably the nearest approximation to that anthropological abstraction, a pure race, that we know of (p. 83). He describes the type as follows (Chap. iv.).

Proto-Egyptian
Type.

The Proto-Egyptian (*i.e.* Pre-dynastic) was a man of small stature, his mean height, estimated at a little under 5 ft. 5 in., in the flesh for men, and almost 5 ft. in the case of women,

¹ For an alternative route see E. Naville, “The Origin of Egyptian Civilisation,” *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvii. 1907, p. 209; J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, 1911, pp. 56–7, also p. 65, and the criticism of Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911, pp. 88–9.

² *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911.

being just about the average for mankind in general, whereas the modern Egyptian *fellah* averages about 5 ft. 6 in. He was of very slender build with indications of poor muscular development. In fact there is a suggestion of effeminate grace and frailty about his bones, which is lacking in the more rugged outlines of the skeletons of his more virile successors. The hair of the Proto-Egyptian was precisely similar to that of the brunet South European or Iberian people of the present day. It was a very dark brown or black colour, wavy or almost straight and sometimes curly, never "woolly." There can be no doubt whatever that this dark hair was associated with dark eyes and a bronzed complexion. Elliot Smith emphatically endorses Sergi's identification of the ancient Egyptian as belonging to his Mediterranean Race. "So striking is the family likeness between the Early Neolithic peoples of the British Isles and the Mediterranean and the bulk of the population, both ancient and modern, of Egypt and East Africa, that a description of the bones of an early Briton might apply in all essential details to an inhabitant of Somaliland." But he points out also that there is an equally close relationship linking the Proto-Egyptians with the populations to the east, from the Red Sea as far as India, including Semites as well as Hamites. Rejecting the terms "Mediterranean" or "Hamite" as inadequate he would classify his Mediterranean-Hamite-Semite group as the "Brown Race".

A most fortunate combination of circumstances afforded Elliot Smith an opportunity for determining the ethnic affinities of the Egyptian people.

The Hearst Expedition of the University of California, under the direction of G. A. Reisner, was occupied from 1901 onwards with excavations at Naga-ed-Dêr in the Thebaid, where a cemetery, excavated by A. M. Lythgoe, contained well-preserved bodies and skeletons of the earliest known Pre-dynastic period. Close by was a series of graves of the First and Second Dynasties; a few hundred yards away tombs of the Second to the Fifth Dynasties (examined by A. C. Mace), with a large number of tombs ranging from the time of the Sixth Dynasty to the Twelfth. "Thus there was provided a chronologically unbroken series of human remains representing every epoch in the history of Upper Egypt from prehistoric times, roughly estimated at 4000 B.C., up till the close of the

¹ *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911, pp. 56, 58, 62.,

Middle Empire, more than two thousand years later." To complete the story Coptic (Christian Egyptian) graves of the fifth and sixth centuries were discovered on the same site.

"The study of this extraordinarily complete series of human remains, providing in a manner such as no other site has ever done the materials for the reconstruction of the racial history of one spot during more than forty-five centuries, made it abundantly clear that the people whose remains were buried just before the introduction of Islâm into Egypt were of the same flesh and blood as their forerunners in the same locality before the dawn of history. And nine years' experience in the Anatomical Department of the School of Medicine in Cairo," continues Elliot Smith, "has left me in no doubt that the bulk of the present population in Egypt conforms to precisely the same racial type, which has thus been dominant in the northern portion of the Valley of the Nile for sixty centuries¹."

As early as the Second Dynasty certain alien traits began to appear, which became comparatively common in the Sixth to Twelfth series. The non-Egyptian characters are observable in remains from numerous sites Armenoid Type. excavated by Flinders Petrie in Lower and Middle Egypt, and are particularly marked in the cemetery round the Giza Pyramids (excavated by the Hearst Expedition, 1903), containing remains of more than five hundred individuals, who had lived at the time of the Pyramid-builders; they are therefore referred to by Elliot Smith as "Giza traits," and attributed to Armenoid influence. Soon after the amalgamation of the Egyptian kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt by Menes (Mena), consequent perhaps upon the discovery of copper and the invention of metal implements², expeditions were sent beyond the frontiers of the United Kingdom to obtain copper ore, wood and other objects. Even in the times of the First Dynasty the Egyptians began the exploitation of the mines in the Sinai Peninsula for copper ore. It is claimed by Meyer³ that Palestine and the Phœnician coast were Egyptian dependencies, and there is ample evidence that there was intimate intercourse between Egypt and Palestine as far north as the Lebanons before the end of the Third Dynasty. From this

¹ *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911, pp. 104-5.

² G. Elliot Smith, *loc. cit.* pp. 97 and 147.

³ E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I. 2, 1909, §§ 229, 232, 253.

time forward the physical characters of the people of Lower Egypt show the results of foreign admixture, and present marked features of contrast to the pure type of Upper Egypt. The curious blending of characters suggests that the process of racial admixture took place in Syria rather than in Egypt itself¹. The alien type is best shown in the Giza necropolis, and its representatives may be regarded as the builders and guardians of the Pyramids. The stature is about the same as that of the Proto-Egyptians, possibly rather lower, but they were built on far sturdier lines, their bones being more massive, with well-developed muscular ridges and impressions, and none of the effeminacy or infantilism of the prehistoric skeletons. The brain-case has greater capacity with no trace of the meagre ill-filled character exhibited by the latter. Characteristic peculiarities were the "Grecian profile" and a jaw closely resembling those of the round-headed Alpine races. ♀

These "Giza traits" were not a local development, for they have been noted in all parts of Palestine and Asia Minor, and abundantly in Persia and Afghanistan. They occur in the Punjab but are absent from India, having an area of greatest concentration in the neighbourhood of the Pamirs; while in a westerly direction, besides being sporadically scattered over North Africa, they are recognised again in the extinct Guanches of the Canary Islands. From these considerations Elliot Smith shapes the following "working hypothesis."

"The Egyptians, Arabs and Sumerians may have been kinsmen of the Brown Race, each diversely specialized by long residence in its own domain; and in Pre-dynastic times, before the wider usefulness of copper as a military instrument of tremendous power was realized, the Middle Pre-dynastic phase of culture became diffused far and wide throughout Arabia and Sumer. Then came the awakening to the knowledge of the supremacy which the possession of metal weapons conferred upon those who wielded them in combat against those not so armed. Upper Egypt vanquished Lower Egypt in virtue of this knowledge and the possession of such weapons. The United Kingdom pushed its way into Syria to obtain wood and ore, and incidentally taught the Arabs the value of metal weapons. The Arabs thereby obtained the supremacy

¹ G. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911, p. 108, but for a different interpretation see J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, 1911 pp. 31 and 65.

over the Armenoids of Northern Syria, and the hybrid race of Semites formed from this blend were able to descend the Euphrates and vanquish the more cultured Sumerians, because the latter were without metal implements of war. The non-Semitic Armenoids of Asia Minor carried the new knowledge into Europe¹."

This hypothesis might explain some of the difficult problems connecting Egypt and Babylonia². The non-Asiatic origin of the Egyptian people appears to be indicated by recent excavations, but, as mentioned above, there are still many who hold that Egyptian culture and civilisation were derived mainly, if not wholly, from Asiatic (probably Sumerian) sources. The Semitic elements existing in the ancient Egyptian language, certain resemblances between names of Sumerian and Egyptian gods, and the similarity of hieroglyphic characters to the Sumerian system of writing have been cited as proofs of the dependence of the one culture upon the other; while the introduction of the knowledge of metals, metal-working and the crafts of brick-making and tomb construction have, together with the bulbous mace-head, cylinder-seal and domesticated animals and plants³, been traced to Babylonia.

Asiatic Influence
on Egyptian
Culture.

But the excavations of Reisner at Naga-ed-Dêr and those of Naville at Abydos (1909-10) appear to place the indigenous development of Egyptian culture beyond question. Reisner's conclusions⁴ are that there was no sudden break of continuity between the neolithic and early dynastic cultures of Egypt. No essential change took place in the Egyptian conception of life after death, or in the rites and practices accompanying interment. The most noticeable changes, in the character of the pottery and household vessels, in the materials for tools and weapons and the introduction of writing, were all gradually introduced, and one period fades into another without any

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 147.

² H. R. Hall (*The Ancient History of the Near East*, 1913, p. 87 n. 3) sees "no resemblance whatever between the facial traits of the Memphite grandees of the Old Kingdom and those of Hittites, Syrians, or modern Anatolians, Armenians or Kurds. They were much more like South Europeans, like modern Italians or Cretans."

³ Cf. H. H. Johnston, "A Survey of the Ethnography of Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Soc.* XLIII. 1913, p. 383, and also E. Naville, "The Origin of Egyptian Civilisation," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XXXVII. 1907, p. 210.

⁴ G. A. Reisner, "The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Dêr," Part I. Vol. II. of *University of California Publications*, 1908, summarised by L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, pp. 326, 334.

strongly marked line of division between them. Egypt no doubt had trading relations with surrounding countries. Egyptians and Babylonians must have met in the markets of Syria, and in the tents of Bedouin chiefs. Still, as Meyer points out, far from Egypt taking over a ready-made civilisation from Babylonia, Egypt, as regards cultural influence, was the giver not the receiver¹.

One more alien element in Egypt remains to be discussed. Most writers on Egyptian ethnology detect a Negro or at least Negroid element in the Caucasoid population, and although usually assigning priority to the Negro, assume the co-existence of the two races from time immemorial to the present day. Measurements on more than 1000 individuals were made by C. S. Myers, and these are his conclusions. "There is no anthropometric (despite the historic) evidence that the population of Egypt, past or present, is composed of several different races. Our new anthropometric data favour the view which regards the Egyptians always as a homogeneous people, who have varied now towards Caucasian, now towards negroid characters (according to environment), showing such close anthropometric affinity to Libyan, Arabian and like neighbouring peoples, showing such variability and possibly such power of absorption, that from the anthropometric standpoint no evidence is obtainable that the modern Egyptians have been appreciably affected by other than sporadic Sudanese admixture²."

It was seen above (Chap. III.) that non-Negro elements are found throughout the Sudan from Senegal nearly to Darfur,

The Fulah. nowhere forming the whole of the population, but nearly always the dominant native race.

These are the Fulah (Fula, Fulbe or Fulani), whose ethnic affinities have given rise to an enormous amount of speculation. Their linguistic peculiarity had led many ethnologists to regard them as the descendants of the first white colonists of North Africa, "Caucasoid invaders," 15,000 years ago, prior to Hamitic intrusions from the east³. Thus would be explained the fact that their language betrays absolutely no structural affinity with Semitic or Libyo-Hamitic groups, or with any other

¹ *Geschichte des Altertums*, I. 2, 1909, p. 156.

² *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XXXIII. 1903, XXXV. 1905, XXXVI. 1906, and *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XXXVIII. 1908.

³ Cf. H. H. Johnston, "A Survey of the Ethnography of Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII. 1913, p. 382.

speech families outside Africa, though offering faint resemblances in structure with the Lesghian¹ speech of the Caucasus and the Dravidian tongues of Baluchistan and India. Physically there seems to be nothing to differentiate them from other blends² of Hamite-Negro. The physical type of the pure-bred Fulah H. H. Johnston describes as follows: "Tall of stature (but not gigantic, like the Nilote and South-east Sudanese), olive-skinned or even a pale yellow; well-proportioned, with delicate hands and feet, without steatopygy, with long, oval face, big nose (in men), straight nose in women (nose finely cut, like that of the Caucasian), eyes large and "melting," with an Egyptian look about them, head-hair long, black, kinky or ringlety, never quite straight³." They were at first a quiet people, herdsmen and shepherds with a high and intricate type of pagan religion which still survives in parts of Nigeria. But large numbers of them became converted to Islam from the twelfth century onwards and gained some knowledge of the world outside Africa by their pilgrimages to Mecca. At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries an uprise of Muhammadan fanaticism and a proud consciousness of their racial superiority to the mere Negro armed them as an aristocracy to wrest political control of all Nigeria from the hands of Negro rulers or the decaying power of Tuareg and Songhai. This race was all unconsciously carrying on the Caucasian invasion and penetration of Africa.

A less controversial problem is presented by the Eastern Hamites, who form a continuous chain of dark Caucasian peoples from the Mediterranean to the equator, and whose ethnical unity is now established by Sergi on anatomical grounds⁴. Bordering on Upper Egypt, and extending thence to the foot of the Abyssinian plateau, is the Beja section, whose chief divisions—Ababdeh, Hadendoa, Bisharin, Beni Amer—have from the earliest times occupied the whole region between the Nile and the Red Sea.

¹ No physical affinity is suggested. The Lesghian tribes "betray an accentuated brachycephaly equal to that of the pure Mongols about the Caspians." W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, p. 440.

² J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, 1900, p. 439, places the Fulahs in a separate group, the Fulah-Zandeh group. Cf. also A. C. Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, 1911, p. 59.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 401 n.

⁴ *Africa*, 1897, *passim*.

C. G. Seligman has analysed the physical and cultural characters of the Beja tribes (*Bisharin*, *Hadendoa* and *Beni Amer*), the *Barabra*, nomad Arabs (such as the *Kababish* and *Kawahla*), Nilotes (*Shilluk*, *Dinka*, *Nuer*) and half-Hamites (*Ba-Hima*, *Masai*), in an attempt by eliminating the Negro and Semitic elements to deduce the main features which may be held to indicate Hamitic influence. He regards the *Beni Amer* as approximating most closely to the original *Beja* type which he thus describes. "Summarizing their physical characteristics it may be said that they are moderately short, slightly built men, with reddish-brown or brown skins in which a greater or less tinge of black is present, while in some cases the skin is definitely darker and presents some shade of brown-black. The hair is usually curly, in some instances it certainly might be described as wavy, but the method of hair dressing adopted tends to make difficult an exact description of its condition. Often, as is everywhere common amongst wearers of turbans, the head is shaved.... The face is usually long and oval, or approaching the oval in shape, the jaw is often lightly built, which with the presence of a rather pointed chin may tend to make the upper part of the face appear disproportionately broad. The nose is well shaped and thoroughly Caucasian in type and form¹." Among the *Hadendoa* the "Armenoid" or so-called "Jewish" nose is not uncommon. Seligman draws attention to the close resemblance between the *Beja* type and that of the ancient Egyptians.

Through the Afars (*Danakil*) of the arid coastlands between Abyssinia and the sea, the Bejas are connected with the numerous Hamitic populations of the Somali and Galla lands. For the term "Somal," which is quite recent and of course unknown to the natives, H. M. Abud² suggests an interesting and plausible explanation. Being a hospitable people, and milk their staple food, "the first word a stranger would hear on visiting their kraals would be 'Só mál,' i.e. 'Go and bring milk.'" Strangers may have named them from this circumstance, and other tribal names may certainly be traced to more improbable sources.

¹ "Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII, 1913, p. 604. See also C. Crossland, *Desert and Water Gardens of the Red Sea*, 1913.

² *Genealogies of the Somal*, 1896.

The natives hold that two races inhabit the land: (1) ASHA, true Somals, of whom there are two great divisions, *Dáród* and *Ishák*, both claiming descent from certain noble Arab families, though no longer of Arab speech; (2) HÁWÍYA, who are not counted by the others as true Somals, but only "pagans," and also comprise two main branches, *Aysa* and *Gadabursi*. In the national genealogies collected by Abud and Cox, many of the mythical heroes are buried at or near Meit, which may thus be termed the cradle of the Somal race. From this point they spread in all directions, the *Dáróds* pushing south and driving the Galla beyond the Webbe Shebel, and till lately raiding them as far as the Tana river. It should be noticed that these genealogical tables are far from complete, for they exclude most of the southern sections, notably the *Rahanwin* who have a very wide range on both sides of the Jub.

In the statements made by the natives about true Somals and "pagans," race and religion are confused, and the distinction between Asha and Háwíya is merely one between Moslem and infidel. The latter are probably of much purer stock than the former, whose very genealogies testify to interminglings of the Moslem Arab intruders with the heathen aborigines.

Despite their dark colour C. Keller¹ has no difficulty in regarding the Somali as members of the "Caucasic Race." The Semitic type crops out decidedly in several groups, and they are generally speaking of fine physique, well grown, with proud bearing and often with classic profile, though the type is very variable owing to Arab and Negro grafts on the Hamitic stock. The hair is never woolly, but, like that of the Beja, ringlety and less thick than the Abyssinian and Galla, sometimes even quite straight. The forehead is finely rounded and prominent, eye moderately large and rather deep-set, nose straight, but also snub and aquiline, mouth regular, lips not too thick, head sub-dolichocephalic.

Great attention has been paid to all these Eastern Hamitic peoples by Ph. Paulitschke², who regards the Galla as both intellectually and morally superior to the Somals and Afars, the chief reason being that the baneful influences exercised by the Arabs and Abyssinians affect to a far greater extent the two latter than the former group.

¹ "Reisestudien in den Somaliländern," *Globus*, LXX. p. 33 sq.

² *Ethnographie Nord-Ost-Afrikas: Die geistige Kultur der Dandkil, Galla u. Somál*, 1896, 2 vols.

The Galla appear to have reached the African coast before the Danákil and Somali, but were driven south-east by pressure

The Galla. from the latter, leaving Galla remnants as serfs among the southern Somali, while the presence

of servile negroid tribes among the Galla gives proof of an earlier population which they partially displaced. Subsequent pressure from the Masai on the south forced the Galla into contact with the Danákil, and a branch penetrating inland established themselves on the north and east of Victoria Nyanza, where they are known to-day as the Ba-Hima, Wa-Tusi, Wa-Ruanda and kindred tribes, which have been described on p. 91.

The Masai, the terror of their neighbours, are a mixture of Galla and Nilotic Negro, producing what has been described

The Masai. as the finest type in Africa. The build is slender and the height often over six feet, the face is

well formed, with straight nose and finely cut nostrils, the hair is usually frizzly, and the skin dark or reddish brown. They are purely pastoral, possessing enormous herds of cattle in which they take great pride, but they are chiefly remarkable for their military organisation which was hardly surpassed by that of the Zulu. They have everywhere found in the agricultural peoples an easy prey, and until the reduction of their wealth by rinderpest (since 1891) and the restraining influence of the white man, the Masai were regarded as an ever-dreaded scourge by all the less warlike inhabitants of Eastern Africa¹.

Amongst the Abyssinian Hamites we find the strangest interminglings of primitive and more advanced religious ideas. On a seething mass of African heathendom, already in pre-

Abyssinian Hamites: historic times affected by early Semitic ideas introduced by the Himyarites from South Arabia, was
Religion. somewhat suddenly imposed an undeveloped form

of Christianity by the preaching of Frumentius in the fourth century, with results that cannot be called satisfactory. While the heterogeneous ethnical elements have been merged in a composite Abyssinian nationality, the discordant religious ideas

¹ M. Merker, *Die Masai*, 1904; A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, 1905. C. Dundas, "The Organization and Laws of some Bantu Tribes in East Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLV. 1915, pp. 236-7, thinks that the power of the Masai was over-rated, and that the Galla were really a fiercer race. He quotes Krapf, "Give me the Galla and I have Central Africa." The *Nandi* (an allied tribe) are described by A. C. Hollis, 1909, and *The Suk* by M. W. H. Beech, 1911.

have never yet been fused in a consistent uniform system. Hence "Abyssinian Christianity" is a sort of by-word even amongst the Eastern Churches, while the social institutions are marked by elementary notions of justice and paradoxical "shamanistic" practices, interspersed with a few sublime moral precepts. Many things came as a surprise to the members of the Rennell Rodd Mission¹, who could not understand such a strange mixture of savagery and lofty notions in a Christian community which, for instance, accounted accidental death as wilful murder. The case is mentioned of a man falling from a tree on a friend below and killing him. "He was adjudged to perish at the hands of the bereaved family, in the same manner as the corpse. But the family refused to sacrifice a second member, so the culprit escaped." Dreams also are resorted to, as in the days of the Pharaohs, for detecting crime. A priest is sent for, and if his prayers and curses fail, a small boy is drugged and told to dream. "Whatever person he dreams of is fixed on as the criminal; no further proof is needed....If the boy does not dream of the person whom the priest has determined on as the criminal, he is kept under drugs until he does what is required of him."

To outsiders society seems to be a strange jumble of an iron despotism, which forbids the selling of a horse for over £10 under severe penalties, and a personal freedom or licence, which allows the labourer to claim his wages after a week's work and forthwith decamp to spend them, returning next day or next month as the humour takes him. Yet somehow things hold together, and a few Semitic immigrants from South Arabia have for over 2000 years contrived to maintain some kind of control over the Hamitic aborigines who have always formed the bulk of the population in Abyssinia².

¹ A. E. W. Gleichen, *Rennell Rodd's Mission to Menelik*, 1897.

² Among recent works on Abyssinia may be mentioned A. B. Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, 1901; H. Weld Blundell, "A Journey through Abyssinia," *Geog. Journ.* xv. 1900, and "Exploration in the Abai Basin," *ib.* xxvii. 1906; the *Anthropological Survey of Abyssinia* published by the French Government in 1911; and various publications of the Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia, edited by E. Littmann.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CAUCASIC PEOPLES (*continued*)

THE SEMITES—Cradle, Origins, and Migrations—Divisions: Semitic Migrations—
 Babylonia, People and Civilisation—Assyria, People and Civilisation—Syria
 and Palestine—*Canaanites: Amorites: Phoenicians—The Jews*—Origins—
 Early and Later Dispersions—Diverse Physical Types—Present Range and
 Population—THE HITTITES—Conflicting Theories—*The Arabs*—Spread of
 the Arab Race and Language—Semitic Monotheism—Its Evolution.

THE Himyaritic immigrants, who still hold sway in a foreign land, have long ceased to exist as a distinct nationality in their own country, where they had nevertheless ages ago founded flourishing empires, centres of one of the very oldest civilisations of which there is any record. Should future research confirm the now generally received view that Hamites and Semites are fundamentally of one stock, a view based both on

The Semites— physical and linguistic data¹, the cradle of the
 Cradle, Origins, Semitic branch will also probably be traced to
 and Migrations. South Arabia, and more particularly to that south-
 western region known to the ancients as Arabia Felix, *i.e.* the
 Yemen of the Arabs. While Asia and Africa were still partly
 separated in the north by a broad marine inlet before the for-
 mation of the Nile delta, easy communication was afforded
 between the two continents farther south at the head of the
 Gulf of Aden, where they are still almost contiguous. By this
 route the primitive Hamito-Semitic populations may have
 moved either westwards into Africa, or, as has also been sug-
 gested, eastwards into Asia, where in the course of ages the
 Semitic type became specialised.

On this assumption South Arabia would necessarily be the
 first home of the Semites, who in later times spread thence
 north and east. They appear as *Babylonians*
 Divisions. and *Assyrians* in Mesopotamia; as *Phoenicians*
 on the Syrian coast; as *Arabs* on the Nejd steppe; as

¹ The divergent views of orientalist concerning Semitic (linguistic) origins are summarised by W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 375.

Canaanites, Moabites and others in and about Palestine; as *Amorites (Aramaeans, Syrians)* in Syria and Asia Minor.

This is the common view of Semitic origins and early migrations, but as practically no systematic excavations have been possible in Arabia, owing to political conditions and the attitude of the inhabitants, definite archaeological or anthropological proofs are still lacking. The hypothesis would, however, seem to harmonise well with all the known conditions. In the first place is to be considered the very narrow area occupied by the Semites, both absolutely and relatively to the domains of the other fundamental ethnical groups. While the Mongols are found in possession of the greater part of Asia, and the Hamites with the Mediterraneans are diffused over the whole of North Africa, South and West Europe since the Stone Ages, the Semites, excluding later expansions—Himyarites to Abyssinia, Phoenicians to the shores of the Mediterranean, Moslem Arabs to Africa, Irania, and Transoxiana—have always been confined to the south-west corner of Asia, comprising very little more than the Arabian Peninsula, Mesopotamia, Syria, and (doubtfully) parts of Asia Minor. Moreover the whole mental outlook of the Semites, their mode of thought, their religion and organisation, indicate their derivation from a desert people; while in Arabia are found at the present time the purest examples not only of Semitic type, but also of Semitic speech¹. Their early history, however, as pointed out above, still awaits the spade of the archaeologist, and the earliest migrations that can be definitely traced are in the form of invasions of already established states².

The first great wave of Semitic migration from Arabia is placed in the fourth millennium B.C., 3500 to 2500 or earlier; it affected Babylonia and probably Syria and Palestine, judging from the Palestinian place-names belonging to this "Babylonian-Semitic" period, and the close connection between Palestine and Babylonia in

Semitic
Migrations.

¹ E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 1. 2, 1909, § 336. O. Procksch, however, while regarding the origin of the Semites as an unsolved problem, considers Arabia as their centre of dispersal rather than their original home. As far as early Semitic migrations can be traced he thinks they indicate a north to south direction, and he sees no cause for disputing the Biblical account (*Gen. ii. 10 ff.*) deriving the descendants of Shem "from the neighbourhood of Ararat, i.e. Armenia, across the Taurus to the North Syrian plain." "Die Völker Altpalästinas," *Das Land der Bibel*, 1. 2, 1914, p. 11. Cf. also J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, 1911, p. 115.

² For the discussion as to whether Semites or Sumerians were the earlier occupants of Babylonia see p. 263 above.

culture and in religious ideas, indicating prehistoric relationship¹. A second wave, Winckler's Canaanitic or Amoritic migration, followed in the third millennium, covering Babylonia, laying the foundations of the Assyrian Empire, invading Syria and Palestine (Phoenicians, Amorites) and possibly later Egypt (*Hyksos*). A third wave, the Aramaean, which spread over Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Syria in the second millennium, was preceded by the swarming into Syria from the desert of the Khabiri (*Habiru*) or Hebrews (Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites and Israelites among others). From the same area the Suti pressed into Babylonia about 1100, followed by another branch, the Chaldeans from Eastern Arabia.

These are but a few of the earlier waves of migration from the south of which traces can be detected in Western Asia. Of all invasions from the north, that of the Hittites is the most important and the most confusing. The Hittites appear to have moved south from Cappadocia about 2000 B.C., and they are found warring against Babylonia in the eighteenth century. A Hittite dynasty flourished at Mittanni 1420-1411 and in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries they conquered and largely occupied Syria². Invasions of Phrygians and Philistines from the west followed the breaking up of the Hittite Empire. The last great Semitic migration was the most widespread of all. "It issued, like its predecessors, along the whole margin of the desert, and in the course of a century had flooded not only Syria and Egypt, but all North Africa and Spain; it had occupied Sicily, raided Constance, and in France was only checked at Poitiers in 732. Eastward it flooded Persia, founded an empire in India, and carried war and commerce by sea past Singapore³."

"Thus Western Asia has been swept times and again, almost without number, by conquering hordes and the no less severe ethnical disturbances of peaceful infiltrations converging from every point of the compass in turn....How, then, is it possible to learn anything today from the contents of this cauldron, filled with such an assortment of ingredients and still

¹ Hugo Winckler, "Die Völker Vorderasiens," *Der Alte Orient*, 1. 1900, pp. 14-15 and *Auszug aus der Vorderasiatische Geschichte*, 1905, p. 2.

² Cf. A. C. Haddon, *Wanderings of Peoples*, 1911, p. 21.

³ J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, 1911, pp. 118-9. For an admirable description of the Semitic migrations see pp. 104-5, and for the geographical aspect, see E. C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment: on the basis of Ratzel's System of Anthropo-Geography*, 1911, pp. 6-7 and under "Nomads" in the Index.

seething from the effects of the disturbance incidental to the harsh mixing of such incompatible elements'?" Some of the problems must for the present be regarded as insoluble, but with the evidence provided by archaeologists and anthropologists an attempt may be made to read the ethnological history in these obscure regions.

The earliest Semitic wave was traceable in Babylonia, but, as seen above, opinions differ as to its origin and date. "At what period the Semites first invaded Babylonia, when and where they first attained supremacy, are not yet matters of history. We find Semites in the land and in possession of considerable power almost as early as we can go back²." The characteristic Semitic features are clearly marked, and the language is closely connected with Canaanitic and Assyrian³. From the monuments we learn that the Babylonian Semites had full beards and wore their hair long, contrasting sharply with the shaven Sumerians, and thus gaining the epithet "the black-headed ones." In nose and lips, as in dress, they are clearly distinct from the Sumerian type⁴.

Babylonia,
People and
Civilisation.

When history commences, the inhabitants of Babylonia were already highly civilised. They lived in towns, containing great temples, and were organised in distinct classes or occupations, and possessed much wealth in sheep and cattle, manufactured goods, gold, silver and copper. Engraving on metals and precious stones, statuary, architecture, pottery, weaving and embroidery, all show a high level of workmanship. They possessed an elaborate and efficient system of writing, extensively used and widely understood, consisting of a number of signs, obviously descended from a form of picture writing, but conventionalised to an extent that usually precludes the recognition of the original pictures. This writing was made by the impression of a stylus on blocks or cakes of fine clay while still quite soft. These "tablets" were sun-dried, but occasionally baked hard. This cuneiform writing was adopted by, or was common to, many neighbouring nations, being freely used in

¹ G. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911, p. 133.

² C. H. W. Johns, *Ancient Babylonia*, 1913, pp. 18-19. For culture see pp. 16-17.

³ O. Procksch, "Die Völker Altpalästinas," *Das Land der Bibel*, 1. 2, 1914.

⁴ Cf. E. Meyer, "Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien," *Abh. der Königl. Preuss. Akad. des Wissenschaft.* 1906; L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, p. 40 ff.

Elam, Armenia and Northern Mesopotamia as far as Cappadocia.

Assyrian culture was founded upon that of Babylonia, but the Assyrians appear to have differed from the Babylonians in character, though not in physical type¹, while they were closely related in speech. "The Assyrians differed markedly from the Babylonians in national character. They were more robust, warlike, fierce, than the mild industrial people of the south. It is doubtful if they were much devoted to agriculture or distinguished for manufactures, arts and crafts. They were essentially a military folk. The king was a despot at home, but the general of the army abroad. The whole organisation of the state was for war. The agriculture was left to serfs or slaves. The manufactures, weaving at any rate, were done by women. The guilds of workmen were probably foreigners, as the merchants mostly were. The great temples and palaces, walls and moats, were constructed by captives.... For the greater part of its existence Assyria was the scourge of the nations and sucked the blood of other races. It lived on the tribute of subject states, and conquest ever meant added tribute in all necessities and luxuries of life, beside an annual demand for men and horses, cattle and sheep, grain and wool to supply the needs of the army and the city²."

The early history of Syria and Palestine is by no means clear, although much light has been shed in recent years by the excavations of R. A. S. Macalister at Gezer³, where remains were found of a pre-Semitic race, of Ernst Sellin at Tell Ta'anek and Jericho⁴, and the labours of the *Deutscher Palästina-Verein* and especially G. Schumacher at Megiddo⁵. Caves apparently occupied by man in the Neolithic period were discovered at Gezer, and are dated at about 3500 to 3000 B.C.

¹ In the Assyrians von Luschan detects traces of the hyperbrachycephalic people of Asia Minor and Armenia, for they appear to differ from the pure Semites especially in the shape of the nose. Meyer regards this variation as possibly due to a prehistoric population, but, he adds, studies of physical types both historically and anthropologically are in their infancy. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 1. 2, 1909, § 330 A.

² C. H. W. Johns, *Ancient Assyria*, 1912, p. 8.

³ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1902 onwards. See also L. B. Paton, Art. "Canaanites," in *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁴ Tell Ta'anek, 1904, *Denkschriften*, Vienna Academy, and "The German Excavations at Jericho," *Pal. Expl. Fund Quart. St.* 1910.

⁵ *Tell el-Mutesellim*, 1908.

from their position below layers in which Egyptian scarabs appear. Fragments of bones give indications of the physical type. None of the individuals exceeded 5 ft. 7 inches (1.702 m.) in height, and most were under 5 ft. 4 inches (1.626 m.). They were muscular, with elongated crania and thick heavy skull-bones. From their physical characters it could be clearly seen that they did not belong to the Semitic race. They burned their dead, a non-Semitic custom, a cave being fitted up as a crematorium, with a chimney cut up through the solid rock to secure a good draught¹.

The first great influx of Semitic nomads is conjectured to have reached Babylonia, not from the south, but from the north-west, after traversing the Syrian coast lands. They left colonists behind them in this region, who afterwards as the Amurru (Amorites) pressed on in their turn into Babylonia and established the earliest independent dynasty in Babylon².

The second great wave of Semitic migration appears to have included the Phoenicians³, so called by the Greeks, though they called themselves Canaanites and their land Canaan⁴, and are referred to in the Old Testament, as in inscriptions at Tyre, as "Sidonians." They themselves had a tradition that their early home was on the Persian Gulf, a view held by Theodore Bent and others⁵, and recent discoveries emphasise the close cultural (not necessarily racial) connection between Palestine and Babylonia⁶.

The weakening of Egyptian hold upon Palestine about the fourteenth century B.C. encouraged incursions of restless Habiru (Habiri) from the Syrian deserts, commonly identified with the Hebrews, and invasions of Hittites from the north. In the thirteenth century Egypt recovered Palestine, leaving the Hittites in possession of Syria. About this time the coast was

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1902, p. 347 ff.

² L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, p. 55; C. H. W. Johns, *Ancient Babylonia*, 1913, pp. 61-2; L. B. Paton, Art. "Canaanites," *Hastings' Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, 1910; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I. 2, 1909, §§ 396, 436; O. Procksch, "Die Völker Altpalästinas," *Das Land der Bibel*, I. 2, 1914, p. 25 ff.; G. Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations, Egypt, Syria, and Assyria*, 1910.

³ *Φοίνικες*, probably meaning red, either on account of their sun-burnt skin, or from the dye for which they were famous. For the Phoenician physical type cf. W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, 1900, pp. 287, 444.

⁴ In the Old Testament "Canaanite" and "Amorite" are usually synonymous.

⁵ A. C. Haddon, *Wanderings of Peoples*, 1911, p. 22. For a general account of Phoenician history see J. P. Mahaffy, in Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*, 1914, p. 303 ff.

⁶ Cf. Morris Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (Haskell Lectures), 1913.

invaded by Levantines, including the Purasati, in whom may perhaps be recognised the Philistines, who gave their name to Palestine¹.

With the Hebrew or Israelitish inhabitants of south Syria (Canaan, Palestine, "Land of Promise") we are here concerned only in so far as they form a distinct branch of the Semitic family.

The Jews.

The term "Jews²," properly indicating the children of Judah, fourth son of Jacob, has long been applied generally to the whole people, who since the disappearance of the ten northern tribes have been mainly represented by the tribe of Judah, a remnant of Benjamin and a few Levites, *i.e.* the section of the nation which to the number of some 50,000 returned to south Palestine (kingdom of Judaea) after the Babylonian captivity. These were doubtless later joined by some of the dispersed northern tribes, who from Jacob's alternative name were commonly called the "ten tribes of Israel." But all such Israelites had lost their separate nationality, and were consequently absorbed in the royal tribe of Judah. Since the suppression of the various revolts under the Empire, the Judæi themselves have been a dispersed nationality, and even before those events numerous settlements had been made in different parts of the Greek and Roman worlds, as far west as Tripolitana, and also in Arabia and Abyssinia.

But most of the present communities probably descend from those of the great dispersion after the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), increased by considerable accessions of converted "Gentiles," for the assumption that they have made few or no converts is no longer tenable. In exile they have been far more a religious body than a broken nation, and as such they could not fail under favourable conditions to spread their teachings, not only amongst their Christian slaves, but also amongst peoples, such as the Abyssinian Falashas, of lower culture than themselves. In pre-Muhammadan times many Arabs of Yemen and other districts had conformed, and some of their Jewish kings (Asad Abu-Karib, Dhu Nowas, and others) are still remembered. About the seventh century all the Khazars—a renowned Turki people of the Volga, the Crimea, and the

¹ See S. A. Cook, Art. "Jews," *Ency. Brit.* 1911; O. Procksch, "Die Völker Altpalästinas," *Das Land der Bibel*, 1. 2, 1914, p. 28 ff.

² From Old French *Juis*, Lat. *Judæi*, *i.e.* Sons of Jehūdāh (Judah). See my article, "Jews," in Cassell's *Storehouse of General Information*, 1893, from which I take many of the following particulars.

Caspian—accepted Judaism, though they later conformed to Russian orthodoxy. The Visigoth persecution of the Spanish Jews (fifth and sixth centuries) was largely due to their proselytising zeal, against which, as well as against Jewish and Christian mixed marriages, numerous papal decrees were issued in medieval times.

To this process of miscegenation is attributed the great variety of physical features observed amongst the Jews of different countries¹, while the distinctly red type cropping out almost everywhere has been traced by Sayce and others to primordial interminglings with the Amorites ("Red People"). "Uniformity only exists in the books and not in reality. There are Jews with light and with dark eyes, Jews with straight and with curly hair, Jews with high and narrow and Jews with short and broad, noses; their cephalic index oscillates between 65 and 98—as far as this index ever oscillates in the *genus homo*!" Nevertheless certain marked characteristics—large hooked nose, prominent watery eyes, thick pendulous and almost everted under lip, rough frizzly lustreless hair—are sufficiently general to be regarded as racial traits.

Diverse
Physical
Types.

The race is richly endowed with the most varied qualities, as shown by the whole tenour of their history. Originally pure nomads, they became excellent agriculturists after the settlement in Canaan, and since then they have given proof of the highest capacity for science, letters, erudition of all kinds, finance, music, and diplomacy. The reputation of the medieval Arabs as restorers of learning is largely due to their wise tolerance of the enlightened Jewish communities in their midst, and on the other hand Spain and Portugal have never recovered from the national loss sustained by the expulsion of the Jews in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In late years the persecutions, especially in Russia, have caused a fresh exodus from the east of Europe, and by the aid of philanthropic capitalists flourishing agricultural settlements have been

¹ W. M. Flinders Petrie attributes the variation to environment, not miscegenation. "History and common observation lead us to the equally legitimate conclusion that the country and not the race determines the cranium." "Migrations," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XXXVI. 1906, p. 218. He is here criticising the excellent discussion of the whole question in W. Z. Ripley's *The Races of Europe*, 1900, Chap. XIV, "The Jews and Semites," pp. 368–400, with bibliography. Cf. also R. N. Salaman, "Hereditary and the Jews," *Journ. of Genetics*, I. p. 274.

² F. von Luschan, "The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLI. 1911, p. 226.

founded in Palestine and Argentina. From statistics taken in various places up to 1911 the Jewish communities are at present estimated at about 12,000,000, of whom three-fourths are in Europe, 380,000 in Africa, 500,000 in Asia, the rest in America and Australia¹.

Intimately associated with all these Aramaic Canaanitic Semites were a mysterious people who have been identified with the *Hittites*² of Scripture, and to whom this

The Hittites.

name has been extended by common consent. They are also identified with the *Kheta* of the Egyptian monuments³, as well as with the *Khatti* of the Assyrian cuneiform texts. Indeed all these are, without any clear proof, assumed to be the same people, and to them are ascribed a considerable number of stones, cylinders, and gems from time to time picked up at various points between the Middle Euphrates and the Mediterranean, engraved in a kind of hieroglyphic or rather pictorial script, which has been variously deciphered according to the bias or fancy of epigraphists. This simply means that the "Hittite texts" have not yet been interpreted, and are likely to remain unexplained, until a clue is found in some bilingual document, such as the Rosetta Stone, which surrendered the secret of the Egyptian hieroglyphs. L. Messerschmidt, editor of a number of Hittite texts⁴, declared (in 1902) that only one sign in two hundred had been interpreted with any certainty⁵, and although the system of A. H. Sayce⁶ is based on a scientific plan, his decipherments must for the present remain uncertain. The important tablets found by H. Winckler in 1907⁷ at Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia, identified with Khatti, the Hittite capital, have thrown much light on Hittite history, and support many of Sayce's conjectures. The records

¹ M. Fishberg, *The Jews*, 1911, p. 10.

² As Heth, settled in Hebron (*Gen.* xxiii. 3) and the central uplands (*Num.* xiii. 29) but also as a confederacy of tribes to the north (1 *Kings* x. 29, 2 *Kings* vii. 6).

³ This identification is based on "the casts of Hittite profiles made by Petrie from the Egyptian monuments. The profiles are peculiar, unlike those of any other people represented by the Egyptian artists, but they are identical with the profiles which occur among the Hittite hieroglyphs" (A. H. Sayce, *Acad.*, Sept. 1894, p. 259).

⁴ "Corpus insc. Hetticarum," *Zeitschr. d. d. morgenländ. Gesellsch.* 1900, 1902, 1906, etc.

⁵ "Die Hettiter," *Der Alte Orient*, 1. 4, 1902, p. 14 n. The sign in question, a bisected oval, is interpreted "god."

⁶ "Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions," *Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology*, 1903, and "Hittite Inscriptions," *ib.* 1905, 1907.

⁷ *Orient. Literaturzeitung*, 1907, and *Orient-Gesellsch.* 1907. See D. G. Hogarth, "Recent Hittite Research," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvi. 1909, p. 408.

show that the Hittites were one of the great nations of antiquity, with a power extending at its prime from the Asiatic coast of the Aegean to Mesopotamia, and from the Black Sea to Kadesh on the Orontes, a power which neither Egypt nor Assyria could withstand. "It is still not certain to which of the great families of nations they belonged. The suggestion has been made that their language has certain Indo-European characteristics; but for the present it is safer to regard them as an indigenous race of Asia Minor. Their strongly-marked facial type, with long, straight nose and receding forehead and chin, is strikingly reproduced on all their monuments, and suggests no comparison with Aryan or Semitic stocks¹."

F. von Luschan, however, is able to throw some light on the ethnological history of the Hittites. When investigating the early inhabitants of Western Asia he was constantly struck by the appearance of a markedly non-Semitic type, which he called "Armenoid." The most typical were the Tahtadji or woodcutters of Western Lycia living up in the mountains and totally distinct in every way from their Mohammedan neighbours. "Their somatic characters are remarkably homogeneous; they have a tawny white skin, much hair on the face, straight hair, dark brown eyes, a narrow, generally aquiline nose, and a very short and high head. The cephalic index varies only from 82 to 91, with a maximum frequency of 86²." Similar types were found in the Bektash, who are town-dwellers in Lycia, and in the Ansariyeh in Northern Syria. In Upper Mesopotamia these features occur again among the Kyzylbash, and in Western Kurdistan among the Yezidi. "We find a small minority of groups possessing a similarity of creed and a remarkable uniformity of type, scattered over a vast part of Western Asia. I see no other way to account for this fact than to assume that the members of all these sects are the remains of an old homogeneous population, which have preserved their religion and have therefore refrained from intermarriage with strangers and so preserved their old physical characteristics³." They all speak the languages of their ortho-

¹ L. W. King, "The Hittites," Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*, 1914, p. 263. For this type see the illustration of Hittite divinities, Pl. XXXI. of F. von Luschan's paper referred to below. For language see now C. J. S. Marstrand, "Caractère Indo-Européen de la langue Hittite," *Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II Hist. filos. Klasse*, 1918, No. 2.

² "The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xli. 1911, p. 230. For this region see D. G. Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, 1902, with ethnological map.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 232.

dox neighbours, Turkish, Arabic and Kurdish, but are absolutely homogeneous as to their somatic characters. Two other groups with the same physical type are the Druses of the Lebanon and Antilebanos country, who speak Arabic and pass officially as Mohammedans, though their secret creed contains many Christian, Jewish and pantheistic elements. To the north of the Druses are the Christian Maronites, said to be the descendants of a Monophysite sect, separated from the common Christian Church after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. "Partly through their isolation in the mountains, partly through their not intermarrying with their Mahometan or Druse neighbours, the Maronites of today have preserved an old type in almost marvellous purity. In no other Oriental group is there a greater number of men with extreme height of the skull and excessive flattening of the occipital region than among the Maronites....Very often their occiput is so steep that one is again and again inclined to think of artificial deformation." But "no such possibility is found¹."

These hypsibrachycephalic groups with high narrow noses, found also in Persia, among Turks, Greeks, and still more commonly among Armenians, were first (1892) called by von Luschan "Armenoid," but "there can be no doubt that they are all descended from tribes belonging to the great Hittite Empire. So it is the type of the Hittites that has been preserved in all these groups for more than 3000 years²." As to their primordial home von Luschan connects them with the "Alpine Race" of Central Europe, but leaves it an open question whether the Hittites came from Central Europe, or the Alpine Race from Western Asia, though inclining to the latter view. The high narrow nose (the essential somatic difference between the Hittites and the other brachycephalic Arabs) "originated as a merely accidental mutation and was then locally fixed, either by a certain tendency of taste and fashion or by long, perhaps millennial in-breeding. The 'Hittite nose' has finally become a dominant characteristic in the Mendelian sense, and we see it, not only in the actual geographical province of the Alpine Race, but often enough also here in England³."

In Arabia itself inscriptions point to the early existence of civilised kingdoms, among which those of the Sabaeans³ and

¹ F. von Luschan, *loc. cit.* p. 233.

² *Loc. cit.* pp. 242-3.

³ Saba', Sheba of the Old Testament, where there are various allusions to its wealth and trading importance from the time of Solomon to that of Cyrus.

the Minaeans¹ stand out most clearly, though their dates and even their chronological order are much disputed.

Possibly both lasted until the rise of the Himyarites at the beginning of the Christian era. All are agreed however that Arabian civilisation reached a very high level in the centuries preceding the birth of the Prophet, before the increase in shipping led to the abandonment of the caravan trade.

Arabia and the
Arabs.

The modern inhabitants are divided into the Southern Arabians, mainly settled agriculturalists of Yemen, Hadramaut and Oman, who trace their descent from Shem, and the Northern Arabians (Bedouin²), pastoral tribes, who trace their descent from Ishmael. The two groups have even been considered ethnologically distinct, but, as von Luschan points out, "peninsular Arabia is the least-known land in the world, and large regions of it are even now absolutely *terrae incognitae*, so great caution is necessary in forming conclusions, from the measurements of a few dozens of men, concerning the anthropology of a land more than five times as great as France³." His measurements of "the only real Semites, the Bedawy," gave a cephalic index ranging from 68 to 78, while the nose was short and fairly broad, very seldom of a "Jewish type." Recently Seligman⁴ has shown that whereas the Semites of Northern Arabia conform more or less to the type just mentioned those of Southern Arabia are of low or median stature (1.62–1.65 m., 63 $\frac{3}{4}$ –65 in.), and are predominantly brachycephalic, the cephalic index ranging from 71 to 92, with an average of about 82.

Elsewhere—Iberia, Sicily, Malta⁵, Irania, Central Asia, Malaysia—the Arab invaders have failed to preserve either their speech or their racial individuality. In some places (Spain, Portugal, Sicily) they have disappeared altogether, leaving nothing behind them beyond some slight linguistic traces, and the monuments of their wonderful architecture, crumbling Alhambras or stupendous mosques re-consecrated as Christian temples. But in the eastern lands their influence is still felt by

¹ Ma'in of the inscriptions.

² Arabic *badawiy*, a dweller in the desert.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 235.

⁴ C. G. Seligman, "The physical characters of the Arabs," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLVII. 1917, p. 214 ff.

⁵ The rude Semitic dialect still current in this island appears to be fundamentally Phoenician (Carthaginian), later affected by Arabic and Italian influences. (M. Mizzi, *A Voice from Malta*, 1896, *passim*.)

multitudes, who profess Islám and use the Arabic script in writing their Persian, Turki, or Malay languages, because some centuries ago those regions were swept by a tornado of rude Bedouin fanatics, or else visited by peaceful traders and missionaries from the Arabian peninsula.

The monotheism proclaimed by these zealous preachers is often spoken of as a special inheritance of the Semitic peoples,

Semitic Monotheism. or at least already possessed by them at such an early period in their life-history as to seem inseparable from their very being. But it was not

so. Before the time of Allah or of Jahveh every hill-top had its tutelar deity; the caves and rocks and the very atmosphere swarmed with "jins"; Assyrian and Phœnician pantheons, with their Baals, and Molochs, and Astartes and Adonais, were as thickly peopled as those of the Hellenes and Hindus, and in this, as in all other natural systems of belief, the monotheistic concept was gradually evolved by a slow process of elimination. Nor was the process perfected by all the Semitic peoples—Canaanites, Assyrians, Amorites, Phœnicians, and others having always remained at the polytheistic stage—but only by the Hebrews and the Arabs, the two more richly endowed members of the Semitic family. Even here a reservation has to be made, for we now know that there was really but one evolution, that of Jahveh, the adoption of the idea embodied in Allah being historically traceable to the Jewish and Christian systems. As Jastrow points out, the higher religious and ethical movement began with Moses, who invested the national Jahveh with ethical traits, thus paving the way for the wider conceptions of the Prophets. "The point of departure in the Hebrew religion from that of the Semitic in general did not come until the rise of a body of men who set up a new ideal of divine government of the universe, and with it as a necessary corollary a new standard of religious conduct. Throwing aside the barriers of tribal limitations to the jurisdiction of a deity, it was the Hebrew Prophets who first prominently and emphatically brought forth the view of a divine power conceived in spiritual terms, who, in presiding over the universe and in controlling the fates of nations and individuals, acts from self-imposed laws of righteousness tempered with mercy¹."

¹ M. Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, 1910.

CHAPTER XV

THE CAUCASIC PEOPLES (*continued*)

THE PEOPLES OF ARYAN SPEECH—European Trade Routes—"Aryan" Migrations—Indo-European Cradle—Indo-European Type—Date of Indo-European Expansion—Origin of Nordic Peoples—The *Cimbri* and *Teutoni*—The *Bastarnae*—The *Moeso-Goths*—Scandinavia—Modification of the Nordic Type—THE CELTO-SLAVS: Their Ethnical Position defined—Aberrant *Tyrolese* Type—*Rhaetians* and *Etruscans*—Etruscan Origins—The Celts—Definitions—Celts in Britain—The Picts—Brachycephals in Britain—Round Barrow Type—Alpine Type—Ethnic Relations—Formation of the English Nation—Ethnic Relations in Ireland—Scotland—and in Wales—Present Constitution of the British Peoples—The English Language—The *French Nation*—Constituent Elements—Mental Traits—The *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*—Ethnic Relations in Italy—*Ligurian*, *Illyrian*, and *Aryan Elements*—The Present *Italians*—Art and Ethics—The *Rumanians*—Ethnic Relations in Greece—The *Hellenes*—Origins and Migrations—The *Lithuanian Factor*—*Aeolians*; *Dorians*; *Ionians*—The Hellenic Legend—The Greek Language—THE SLAVS—Origins and Migrations—*Sarmatians* and *Budini*—*Wends*, *Chekhs*, and *Poles*—The Southern Slavs—Migrations—*Serbs*, *Croats*, *Bosnians*—The *Albanians*—The *Russians*—Panslavism—Russian Origins—*Alans* and *Ossets*—Aborigines of the Caucasus—THE IRANIANS—Ethnic and Linguistic Relations—*Persians*, *Tajiks* and *Galcha-Aghans*—Lowland and Hill Tajiks—The Galchic Linguistic Family—Galcha and Tajik Types—*Homo Europaeus* and *H. Alpinus* in Central Asia—THE HINDUS—Ethnic Relations in India—Classification of Types—The *Kôls*—The *Dravidians*—Dravidian and Aryan Languages—The Hindu Castes—OCEANIA—*Indonesians*—*Micronesians*—*Eastern Polynesians*—Origins, Types, and Divisions—Migrations—Polynesian Culture.

As the result of recent researches there is an end of the theory that bronze came in with the "Aryans," and it is from this standpoint that the revelation of an independent Aegean culture in touch with Babylonia and Egypt some four millenniums before the new era is of such momentous import in determining the ethnical relations of the historical, *i.e.* the present European populations.

Some idea of cultured relations in prehistoric times may be obtained from a review of the trade communications as indicated by archaeology during the Bronze Age which lasted through the whole of the third millennium down to the middle of the second.

European
Trade
Routes.

As we have seen, in the Nile valley, in Mesopotamia and in the Aegean area, remains characteristic of Bronze Age culture rest on a neolithic substratum, and a transitional stage, when

gold and copper were the only metals known, often connects the two. From the time of this dawning of the Age of Metals, the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, of Crete, of Cyprus and of the mainland of Greece freely exchanged their products. Navigation was already flourishing, and the sea united rather than divided the insular and coastal populations. Gradually Egeo-Mykenaeen civilisation extended from Crete and the Greek lands to the west, influencing Sicily directly, and leaving distinct traces in Southern Italy, Sardinia and the Iberian peninsula, while Iberia in its turn contributed to the development of Western Gaul and the British Isles. The knowledge of copper, and, soon after, that of bronze, spread by the Atlantic route to Ireland, while Central Europe was reached directly from the south. Thanks to the trade in amber, always in demand by the Mediterranean populations, there was a continuous trade route to Scandinavia, which thus had direct communication with Southern Europe. As civilisation developed, the lands of the north and west became exporters as well as importers, each developing a distinct industry not always inferior to the more precocious culture of the south¹.

With trade communications thus stretching across Europe from south to north, and from east to extreme west, it would seem not improbable that movements of peoples were equally unrestricted, and this would account for the appearance on the threshold of history of various peoples formerly grouped together on account of their language, as "Aryan." J. L. Myres, however, is inclined to attribute "the coming of the North" to the same type of climatic impulse which induced the Semitic swarms described above (p. 489). After referring to the earliest occurrence of Indo-European names², he continues "Before the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt there had been a very extensive raid of Indo-European-speaking folk by way of the Persian plateau, as far as the Syrian coastland and the interior of Asia Minor." These raids coincide with a new cultural feature of great significance. "It is of the first importance to find that it is in the dark period which immediately precedes the Eigh-

"Aryan"
Migrations.

¹ Cf. J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique*, Vol. II. 1910, p. 2, and for neolithic trade routes, *ib.* Vol. I. p. 626.

² The Tell-el-Amarna correspondence contains names of chieftains in Syria and Palestine about 1400 B.C., including the name of Tushratta, king of Mitanni; the Boghaz Keui document with Iranian divine names, and Babylonian records of Iranian names from the Persian highlands, are a little later in date.

teenth Dynasty revival—when Egypt was prostrate under mysterious ‘Shepherd Kings,’ and Babylon under Kassite invaders equally mysterious—that the civilized world first became acquainted with one of the greatest blessings of civilisation, the domesticated horse. The period of Arabian drought, which drove forth the ‘Canaanite’ emigrants, may have had its counterpart on the northern steppe, to provoke the migration of these horsemen.” He adds, however, “our knowledge both of the extent of these droughts and of the chronology of both these migrations, is too vague for this to be taken as more than a provisional basis for more exact enquiry¹.”

The attempt has often been made to locate the original home of the Indo-European people by an appeal to philology, and idyllic pictures have been drawn up of the “Aryan family” consisting of the father the protector, the mother the producer, and the children Indo-European Cradle. “whose name implied that they kept everything clean and neat².” They were regarded as originally pastoral and later agricultural, ranging over a wide area with Bactria for its centre. With advancing knowledge of what is primitive in Indo-European this circumstantial picture crumbled to pieces, and Feist³ reduces all inferences deducible from linguistic palaeontology to the sole “argumentum ex silencio” (which he regards as distinctly untrustworthy in itself), that the “Urheimat” was a country in which in the middle of the third millennium B.C. such southern animals as lion, elephant, and tiger, were unknown. It was commonly assumed that the “Aryan cradle” was in Asia, and the suggestion of R. G. Latham in 1851 that the original home was in Europe was scouted by one of the most eminent writers on the subject—Victor Hehn—as lunacy possible only to one who lived in a country of cranks². But since this date, there has been a shifting of the “Urheimat” further and further west. O. Schrader⁴ places it in South Russia, G. Kossinna⁵ and H. Hirt⁶ support the claims of Germany, while K. Penka and

¹ J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, 1911, p. 200.

² Cf. P. Giles, Art. “Indo-European Languages” in *Ency. Brit.* 1911.

³ S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, pp. 40 and 486–528.

⁴ O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3rd ed. 1906–7.

⁵ G. Kossinna, *Die Herkunft der Germanen*, 1911.

⁶ H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen, ihre Verbreitung, ihre Urheimat und ihre Kultur*, 1905–7.

many others go still further north, deriving both language and tall fair dolichocephalic speakers (proto-Teutons) from Scandinavia¹.

F. Kauffmann², noting the contrast between the cultures associated with pre-neolithic and with neolithic kitchen-middens, is prepared to attribute the former to aboriginal inhabitants, Ligurians, and, further north, Kvaens (Finns, Lapps), and the neolithic civilisation of Europe to Indo-Europeans. "Thus the neolithic Indo-Europeans would already have advanced as far as South Sweden in the Litorina period of the Baltic, during the oak-period."

On the other hand the discovery of Tocharish has inclined E. Meyer³ to reconsider an Asiatic origin, but the information as to this language is too fragmentary to be conclusive on this point. After reviewing the various theories Giles⁴ concludes "in the great plain which extends across Europe north of the Alps and Carpathians and across Asia north of the Hindu Kush there are few geographical obstacles to prevent the rapid spread of peoples from any part of its area to any other, and, as we have seen, the Celts and the Hungarians etc. have in the historical period demonstrated the rapidity with which such migrations could be made. Such migrations may possibly account for the appearance of a people using a *centum* language so far east as Turkestan⁵."

More acrimonious than the discussion of the original home is the dispute as to the original physical type of the Indo-European-speaking people. It was almost a matter of faith with Germans that the language was introduced by tall fair dolichocephals of Nordic type. On the other hand the Gallic school sought to identify the Alpine race as the only and original Aryans. The futility of the whole discussion is ably demonstrated by W. Z. Ripley in his protest against the confusion of language and race⁶. Feist⁷ summarises our information as follows. All that we can say

Indo-European
Type.

¹ S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, pp. 40 and 486-528.

² *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, I. 1913, p. 49.

³ See Note 3, p. 441 above.

⁴ Art. "Indo-European Languages," *Ency. Brit.* 1911, p. 500.

⁵ Centum (hard guttural) group is the name applied to the Western and entirely European branches of the Indo-European family, as opposed to the satem (sibilant) group, situated mainly in Asia.

⁶ *The Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 17 and chap. XVII. European origins: Race and Language: The Aryan Question.

⁷ S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, pp. 497, 501 ff.

about the physical type of the "Urvolk" is that since the Indo-Europeans came from a northerly region¹ (not yet identified) it is surmised that they belonged to the light-skinned people. The observation that mountain folk of Indo-Germanic speech in southern areas, such as the Ossets of the Caucasus, the Kurds of the uplands of Armenia and Irania, and the Tajiks of the western Pamirs not infrequently exhibit fair hair or blue eyes supports this view. Nevertheless, as he points out, brachycephals are not hereby excluded. His own conclusion, which naturally results from a review of the whole evidence, is that the "Urvolk" was not a pure race, but a mixture of different types. Already in neolithic times races in Europe were no longer pure, and in France "formed an almost inextricable medley" and Feist assumes with E. de Michelis² that the Indo-Europeans were a conglomerate of peoples of different origins who in prehistoric times were welded together into an ethnic unity, as the present English have been formed from pre-Indo-European Caledonians (Picts and Scots), Celts, Roman traders and soldiers and later Teutonic settlers³.

The evidence that Indo-Europeans were already in existence in Mesopotamia, Syria and Irania about the middle of the second millennium B.C. has already been mentioned. About the same time the Vedic hymns bear witness to the appearance of the Aryans of Western India. The formation of an Aryan group with a common language, religion and culture is a process necessarily requiring considerable length of time, so that their swarming off from the Indo-European parent group must be pushed back to far into the third millennium. At this period there are indications of the settling of the Greeks in the southern promontories of the Balkan peninsula at latest about 2000 B.C., while Thracian and Illyrian peoples may have filled the mainland, though the Dorians occupied Epirus, Macedonia, and perhaps Southern Illyria. Indo-European stocks were already in occupation of Central Italy. It would appear therefore that the period of the Indo-European community, before the migrations, must be placed at the end of the Stone Ages, at the time when copper was first introduced. Thus it seems

¹ Cf. T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 273.

² E. de Michelis, *L'origine degli Indo-Europei*, 1905.

³ Even Sweden, regarded as the home of the purest Nordic type, already had a brachycephalic mixture in the Stone Age. See G. Retzius, "The So-called North European Race of Mankind," *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* xxxix. 1909, p. 304.

legitimate to infer that the expansion of the Indo-Europeans began about 2500 B.C. and the furthest advanced branches entered into the regions of the older populations and cultures at latest after the beginning of the second millennium¹. About 1000 B.C. we find three areas occupied by Indo-European-speaking peoples, all widely separated from each other and apparently independent. These are (1) the Aryan groups in Asia; (2) the Balkan peninsula together with Central and Lower Italy, and the Mysians and Phrygians of Asia Minor (possibly the Thracians had already advanced across the Danube); and (3) Teutons, Celts and Letto-Slavs over the greater part of Germany and Scandinavia, perhaps also already in Eastern France and in Poland. The following centuries saw the advance of Iranians to South Russia and further west, the pressing of the Phrygians into Armenia, and lastly the Celtic migrations in Western Europe.

From the linguistic and botanical evidence brought forward by the Polish botanist Rostafinski² the ancestors of the Celts,

**Origin of the
Nordic
Peoples.** Germans and Balto-Slavs must have occupied a region north of the Carpathians, and west of a line between Königsberg and Odessa (the beech and yew zone). The Balto-Slavs subsequently lost the word for beech and transferred the word for yew to the sawall and black alder (both with red wood) but their possession of a word for hornbeam locates their original home in Polesie—the marshland traversed by the Pripiet but not south or east of Kiev.

Although, owing to the absence of Teutonic inscriptions before the third or fourth century A.D. it is difficult to trace the Nordic peoples with any certainty during the Bronze or Early Iron Ages, yet the fairly well-defined group of Bronze Age antiquities, covering the basin of the Elbe, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Jutland, Southern Sweden and the islands of the Belt have been conjectured with much probability to represent early Teutonic civilisation. "Whether we are justified in speaking of a Teutonic race in the anthropological sense is at least doubtful, for the most striking characteristics of these peoples [as deduced from prehistoric skeletons, descriptions of ancient writers and present day statistics] occur also to a considerable extent among their eastern and western neighbours,

¹ Cf. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 1909, I. 2, § 551.

² For the working out of this hypothesis see T. Peisker, "The Expansion of the Slavs," *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II. 1913.

where they can hardly be ascribed altogether to Teutonic admixture. The only result of anthropological investigation which so far can be regarded as definitely established is that the old Teutonic lands in Northern Germany, Denmark and Southern Sweden have been inhabited by people of the same type since the neolithic age if not earlier¹. This type is characterised by tall stature, long narrow skull, light complexion with light hair and eyes².

During the age of national migrations, from the fourth to the sixth century, the territories of the Nordic peoples were vastly extended, partly by conquest, and partly by arrangement with the Romans. But these movements had begun before the new era, for we hear of the *Cimbri* invading Illyricum, Gaul and Italy in the second century B.C. probably from Jutland³, where they were apparently associated with the *Teutoni*. Still earlier, in the third century B.C., the *Bastarnae*, said by many ancient writers to have been Teutonic in origin, invaded and settled between the Carpathians and the Black Sea. Already mentioned doubtfully by Strabo as separating the Germani from the Scythians (Tyragètes) about the Dniester and Dnieper, their movements may now be followed by authentic documents from the Baltic to the Euxine. Furtwängler* shows that the earliest known German figures are those of the Adamklissi monument, in the Dobruja, commemorating the victory of Crassus over the Bastarnae, Getae, and Thracians in 28 B.C. The Bastarnae migrated before the Cimbri and Teutons through the Vistula valley to the Lower Danube about 200 B.C. They had relations with the Macedonians, and the successes of Mithridates over the Romans were due to their aid. The account of their overthrow by Crassus in Dio Cassius is in striking accord with the scenes on the Adamklissi monument. Here they appear dressed only

The Cimbri
and Teutoni.

The
Bastarnae.

¹ H. M. Chadwick, Art. "Teutonic Peoples" in *Ency. Brit.* 1911. Cf. S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, p. 480.

² See R. Much, Art. "Germanen," J. Hoops' *Reallexikon d. Germ. Altertums-kunde*, 1914.

³ H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, 1907, pp. 210-215. For a full account of the affinities of the *Cimbri* and *Teutoni* see T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, pp. 546-553.

⁴ Paper read at the Meeting of the Ger. Anthrop. Soc., Spiers, 1896. Figures of Bastarnae from the Adamklissi monument and elsewhere are reproduced in H. Hahne's *Das Vorgeschichtliche Europa: Kulturen und Völker*, 1910, figs. 144, 149. Cf. T. Pejsker, "The Expansion of the Slavs," *Camb. Med. Hist.* Vol. II. 1913, p. 430.

in a kind of trousers, with long pointed beards, and defiant but noble features. The same type recurs both on the column of Trajan, who engaged them as auxiliaries in his Dacian wars, and on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, here however wearing a tunic, a sign perhaps of later Roman influences. And thus after 2000 years are answered Strabo's doubts by modern archaeology.

Much later there followed along the same beaten track between the Baltic and Black Sea a section of the Goths, whom we find first settled in the Baltic lands in
 The Moeso-Goths. proximity to the Finns. The exodus from this region can scarcely have taken place before the second century of the new era, for they are still unknown to Strabo, while Tacitus locates them on the Baltic between the Elbe and the Vistula. Later Cassiodorus and others bring them from Scandinavia to the Vistula, and up that river to the Euxine and Lower Danube. Although often regarded as legendary¹, this migration is supported by archaeological evidence. In 1837 a gold torque with a Gothic inscription was found at Petroassa in Wallachia, and in 1858 an iron spear-head with a Gothic name in the same script, which dates from the first Iron Age, turned up near Kovel in Volhynia. The spear-head is identical with one found in 1865 at Münchenberg in Brandenburg, on which Wimmer remarks that "of 15 Runic inscriptions in Germany the two earliest occur on iron pikes. There is no doubt that the runes of the Kovel spear-head and of the ring came from Gothic tribes²." These Southern Goths, later called Moeso-Goths, because they settled in Moesia (Bulgaria and Servia), had certain physical and even moral characters of the Old Teutons, as seen in the Emperor Maximinus, born in Thrace of a Goth by an Alan woman—very tall, strong, handsome, with light hair and milk-white skin³, temperate in all things and of great mental energy.

Before their absorption in the surrounding Bulgar and Slav populations the Moeso-Goths were evangelised in the fourth century by their bishop Ulfilas ("Wolf"), whose fragmentary translation of Scripture, preserved in the *Codex Argenteus* of Upsala, is the most precious monument of early Teutonic speech extant.

¹ Cf. H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, 1907, pp. 174 and 219.

² *Monuments runiques* in *Mém. Soc. R. Ant. du Nord*, 1893.

³ "Lactea cutis" (Sidonius Apollinaris).

To find the pure Nordic type at the present day we must seek for it in Scandinavia, which possesses one of the most highly individualised populations in Europe. The Osterdal, and the neighbourhood of Vaage in Scandinavia. Upper Gudbrandsdal in Norway, and the Dalarna district in Sweden contain perhaps the purest Teutonic type in all Europe, the cephalic index falling well below 78. But along the Norwegian coasts there is a strong tendency to brachycephaly (the index rising to 82-3), combined with a darkening of the hair and eye colour (the type occurs also in Denmark), indicating an outlying lodgement of the Alpine race from Central Europe. The anthropological history of Scandinavia, according to Ripley, is as follows: "Norway has...probably been peopled from two directions, one element coming from Sweden and another from the south by way of Denmark. The latter type, now found on the sea coast and especially along the least attractive portion of it, has been closely hemmed in by the Teutonic immigration from Sweden¹." Brachycephalic people already occupied parts of Denmark in the Stone Age², and, according to the scanty information available, the present population is extremely mixed. One-third of the children have light hair and light eyes, and tall stature coincides in the main with fair colouring, but in Bornholm where the cephalic index is 80 there is a taller dark type and a shorter light type, the latter perhaps akin to the Eastern variety of the Alpine race³.

The original Nordic type is by no means universally represented among the present Germanic peoples. From the examination made some years ago of 6,758,000 school children⁴, it would appear that about 31 per cent. of living Germans may be classed as blonds, 14 as brunettes, and 55 as mixed; and further that of the blonds about 43 per cent. are centred in North, 33 in Central and 24 in South Germany. The brunettes increase, generally

Modification
of the Nor-
dic Type.

¹ W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 205 ff. See also O. Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, 1906; G. Retzius and C. M. Fürst, *Anthropologica Suecica*, 1902.

² Commonly called the Borreby type from skulls found at Borreby in the island of Falster, which resemble Round Barrow skulls in Britain.

³ For Denmark consult *Meddelelser om Danmarks Antropologi* udgivne af den Antropologiske Komité, with English summaries, Bd. I. 1907-1911, Bd. II. 1913.

⁴ The results were tabulated by Virchow and may be seen, without going to German sources, in W. Z. Ripley's map, p. 222, of *The Races of Europe*, 1900, where the whole question is fully dealt with.

speaking, southwards, South Bavaria showing only about 14 per cent. of blonds, and the same law holds good of the long-heads and the round-heads respectively. To what cause is to be attributed this profound modification of this branch of the Nordic type in the direction of the south?

That the Teutons ranged in considerable numbers far beyond their northern seats is proved by the spread of the German language to the central highlands, and beyond them down the southern slopes, where a rude High German dialect lingered on in the so-called "Seven Communes" of the Veronese district far into the nineteenth century. But after passing the Main, which appears to have long formed the ethnical divide for Central Europe, they entered the zone of the brown Alpine round-heads¹, to whom they communicated their speech, but by whom they were largely modified in physical appearance. The process has for long ages been much the same everywhere—perennial streams of Teutonism setting steadily from the north, all successively submerged in the great ocean of dark round-headed humanity, which under many names has occupied the central uplands and eastern plains since the Neolithic Age, overflowing also in later times into the Balkan Peninsula.

This absorption of what is assumed to be the superior in the inferior type, may be due to the conditions of the general movement—warlike bands, accompanied by few women, appearing as conquerors in the midst of the Alpines and merging with them in the great mass of brachycephalic peoples. Or is the transformation to be explained by de Lapouge's doctrine, that cranial forms are not so much a question of race as of social conditions, and that, owing to the increasingly unfavourable nature of these conditions, there is a general tendency for the superior long-heads to be absorbed in the inferior round-heads².

The fact that dolichocephaly is more prevalent in cities and brachycephaly in rural areas has been interpreted in various ways. De Lapouge³ contended that in France the restless and

¹ See Ripley's Craniological chart in "Une carte de l'Indice Céphalique en Europe," *L'Anthropologie*, VII. 1896, p. 513.

² The case is stated in uncompromising language by Alfred Fouillée: "Une autre loi, plus généralement admise, c'est que depuis les temps préhistoriques, les brachycéphales tendent à éliminer les dolichocéphales par l'invasion progressive des couches inférieures et l'absorption des aristocraties dans les démocraties, où elles viennent se noyer" (*Rev. des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1895).

³ *Recherches Anthropol. sur le Problème de la Dépopulation*, in *Rev. d'Économie politique*, IX. p. 1002; X. p. 132 (1895-6).

more enterprising long-heads migrated from the rural districts in disproportionate numbers to the towns, where they died out. For the department of Aveyron he gives a table showing a steady rise of the cephalic index from 71.4 in prehistoric times to 86.5 in 1899, and attributes this to the dolichos gravitating chiefly to the large towns, as O. Ammon has also shown for Baden. L. Laloy summed up the results thus: 'France is being depopulated, and, what is worse, it is precisely the best section of the inhabitants that disappears, the section most productive in eminent men in all departments of learning, while the ignorant and rude *pecus* alone increase.

These views have met with favour even across the Atlantic, but are by no means universally accepted. The ground seems cut from the whole theory by A. Macalister, who read a paper at the Toronto Meeting of the British Association, 1897, on "The Causes of Brachycephaly," showing that the infantile and primitive skull is relatively long, and that there is a gradual change, phylogenetic (racial) as well as ontogenetic (individual) toward brachycephaly, which is certainly correlated with, and is apparently produced by, cerebral activity and growth; in the process of development in the individual and the race the frontal lobes of the brain grow the more rapidly and tend to fill out and broaden the skull¹. The tendency would thus have nothing to do with rustic and urban life, nor would the round be necessarily, if at all, inferior to the long head. Some of de Lapouge's generalisations are also traversed by Livi², Deniker³, Sergi⁴ and others, and the whole question is admirably summarised by W. Z. Ripley⁵.

But whatever be the cause, the fact must be accepted that

¹ *Nature*, 1897, p. 487. Cf. also A. Thomson, "Consideration of...factors concerned in production of Man's Cranial Form," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiii. 1903, and A. Keith, "The Bronze Age Invaders of Britain," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xlv. 1915.

² Livi's results for Italy (*Antropometria Militare*) differ in some respects from those of de Lapouge and Ammon for France and Baden. Thus he finds that in the brachy districts the urban population is less brachy than the rural, while in the dolicho districts the towns are more brachy than the plains.

³ Dealing with some studies of the Lithuanian race, Deniker writes: "Ainsi donc, contrairement aux idées de MM. de Lapouge et Ammon, en Pologne, comme d'ailleurs en Italie, les classes les plus instruites, dirigeantes, urbaines, sont plus brachy que les paysans" (*L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 351). Similar contradictions occur in connection with light and dark hair, eyes, etc.

⁴ "E qui non posso tralasciare di avvertire un errore assai diffuso fra gli antropologi...i quali vorrebbero ammettere una trasformazione del cranio da dolicocefalo in brachicefalo" (*Arii e Italici*, p. 155).

⁵ W. Z. Ripley's *The Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 544 ff.

Homo Europaeus (the Nordics) becomes merged southwards in *Homo Alpinus* whose names, as stated, are many. Broca

The Celto-Slavs.

and many continental writers use the name *Kelt* or *Slavo-Kelt*, which has led to much confusion.

But it merely means for them the great mass of brachycephalic peoples in Central Europe, where, at various times, Celtic and Slavonic languages have prevailed.

It is remarkable that in the Alpine region, especially Tyrol, where the brachy element comes to a focus, there is a peculiar

Aberrant

Tyrolese Type.

form of round-head which has greatly puzzled de

Lapouge, but may perhaps be accounted for on

the hypothesis of two brachy types here fused in one. To explain the exceedingly round Tyrolese head, which

shows affinities on the one hand with the Swiss, on the other with the Illyrian and Albanian, that is, with the normal Alpine;

a Mongol strain has been suggested, but is rightly rejected by Franz Tappeiner as inadmissible on many grounds¹. De

Rhaetians

and Etruscans.

Ujfalvy², a follower of de Lapouge, looks on the hyperbrachy Tyrolese as descendants of the ancient Rhaetians or Rasenes, whom so many

regard as the parent stock of the Etruscans.

But Montelius (with most other modern ethnologists) rejects

the land route from the north, and brings the Etruscans by

the sea route direct from the Aegean and Lydia (Asia Minor).

They are the Thessalian Pelasgians whom Hellanikos of

Lesbos brings to Campania, or the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians

transported by Antiklides from Asia Minor to Etruria, and he

is "quite sure that the archæological facts in Central and North

Italy...prove the truth of this tradition³." Of course, until the

affinities of the Etruscan language are determined, from which

¹ This specialist insists "dass von einer mongolischen Einwanderung in Europa keine Rede mehr sein könne" (*Der europäische Mensch u. die Tiroler*, 1896). He is of course speaking of prehistoric times, not of the late (historical) Mongol irruptions. Cf. T. Peisker, "The Expansion of the Slavs," *Cumb. Med. Hist.* Vol. II. 1913, p. 452, with reference to mongoloid traits in Bavaria.

² "Malgré les nombreuses invasions des populations germaniques, le Tyrolien est resté, quant à sa conformation crânienne, le Rasène ou Rhætien des temps antiques—hyperbrachycéphale" (*Les Aryens*, p. 7). The mean index of the so-called Disentis type of Rhaetian skulls is about 86 (His and Rüttimeyer, *Crania Helvetica*, p. 29 and Plate E. 1).

³ "The Tyrrhenians in Greece and Italy," in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1897, p. 258. In this splendidly illustrated paper the date of the immigration is referred to the 11th century B.C. on the ground that the first Etruscan saeculum was considered as beginning about 1050 B.C., presumably the date of their arrival in Italy (p. 259). But Sergi thinks they did not arrive till about the end of the 8th century (*Arri e Italici*, p. 149).

we are still as far off as ever¹, Etruscan origins must remain chiefly an archaeological question. Even the help afforded by the crania from the Etruscan tombs is but slight, both long and round heads being here found in the closest association. Sergi, who also brings the Etruscans from the east, explains this by supposing that, being Pelasgians, they were of the same dolicho Mediterranean stock as the Italians (Ligurians) themselves, and differed only from the brachy Umbrians of Aryan speech. Hence the skulls from the tombs are of two types, the intruding Aryan, and the Mediterranean, the latter, whether representing native Ligurians or intruding Etruscans, being indistinguishable. "I can show," he says, "Etruscan crania, which differ in no respect from the Italian [Ligurian], from the oldest graves, as I can also show heads from the Etruscan graves which do not differ from those still found in Aryan lands, whether Slav, Keltic, or Germanic²." Perhaps the difficulty is best explained by Feist's suggestion that the Etruscans were merely a highly civilised warlike aristocracy, spreading thinly over the conquered population by which they were ultimately absorbed³.

Etruscan
Origins.

The migrations of the Celts preceded those of the Teutonic peoples to whom they were probably closely related in race as in language⁴. At the beginning of the historical period Celts are found in the west of Germany in the region of the Rhine and the Weser. Possibly about 600 B.C. they occupied Gaul and parts of the Iberian peninsula, subsequently crossing over into the British Isles. In Italy they came into conflict with the rising power of Rome, and, after the battle of the Allia (390 B.C.) occupied Rome itself. Descents were also made into the Danube valley and the Balkans, and later (280 B.C.) into Thessaly. At the height of their power they extended from the north of Scotland to the southern shores of Spain and Portugal, and from the northern coasts of Germany to a little south of Senegaglia. To the

The Celts.

¹ See R. S. Conway, Art. Etruria: Language, *Ency. Brit.* 1911.

² *Op. cit.* p. 151. By German he means the round-headed South German.

³ S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, p. 370.

⁴ S. Feist, *loc. cit.* p. 65. For cultural and linguistic influence of Celts on Germans see pp. 480 ff. Evidence of Celtic names in Germany is discussed by H. M. Chadwick "Some German River names," *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, 1913.

west their boundary was the Atlantic, to the east, the Black Sea¹.

Unfortunately the indiscriminate use of the term Celt has led to much confusion. For historians and geographers the

Definition of
"Celt." Celts are the people in the centre and west of Europe referred to by writers of antiquity under the names of *Keltoi*, *Celtae*, *Galli* and *Galatae*.

But many anthropologists, especially on the continent, regard Celts and Gauls as representing two well-determined physical types, the former brachycephalic, with short sturdy build and chestnut coloured hair (Alpine type), and the latter dolichocephalic with tall stature, fair complexion and light hair (Nordic type). Linguists, ignoring physical characters, class as Celts those people who speak an Indo-European language characterised in particular by the loss of p and by the modifications undergone by mutation of initial consonants, while for many archaeologists the Celts were the people responsible for the spread of the civilisation of the Hallstatt and La Tène periods, that is of the earlier and later Iron Age².

It is not surprising therefore that it has been proposed to drop the word Celt out of anthropological nomenclature, as having no ethnical significance. But this, says Rice Holmes³, "is because writers on ethnology have not kept their heads clear." And in particular one point has been overlooked. "Just as the French are called after one conquering people, the Franks; just as the English are called after one conquering people, the Angles; so the heterogeneous Celtae of Transalpine Gaul were called after one conquering people; and that people were the Celts, or rather a branch of the Celts in the true sense of the word. The Celts, in short, were the people who introduced the Celtic language into Gaul, into Asia Minor, and into Britain; the people who included the victors of the Allia, the conquerors of Gallia Celtica, and the conquerors of

¹ H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes depuis les Temps les plus anciens jusqu'en l'an 100 avant notre ère*, 1904, p. 1.

² G. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'Antiquité Celtique*, 1915, p. 1.

³ T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 321. W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900, reviewing the "*Celtic Question*", than which no greater stumbling-block in the way of our clear thinking exists" (p. 124) comes to a different conclusion. He states that "the term *Celt*, if used at all, belongs to the...brachycephalic, darkish population of the Alpine highlands," and he claims for this view "complete unanimity of opinion among physical anthropologists" (p. 126). His own view however is that "the linguists are best entitled to the name *Celt*" while the broad-headed type commonly called Celtic by continental writers "we shall... everywhere...call...Alpine" (p. 128).

Gallia Belgica ; the people whom Polybius called indifferently Gauls and Celts ; the people who, as Pausanias said, were originally called Celts and afterwards called Gauls. If certain ancient writers confounded the tall fair Celts who spoke Celtic with the tall fair Germans who spoke German the ancient writers who were better informed avoided such a mistake.... Let us therefore restore to the word 'Celt' the ethnical significance which of right belongs to it."

It is not certain at what date the Celtic tribes effected settlements in Great Britain, but it is held by many that the earliest invasions were not prior to the sixth or possibly even the fifth century. At the time of the Roman conquest the Celts were divided into two linguistic groups, *Goidelic*, represented at the present day by Irish, Manx and Scotch Gaelic, and *Brythonic*, including Welsh, Cornish and Breton. These groups must have been virtually identical save in two particulars. In Brythonic the labial velar q became p (a change which apparently took place before the time of Pytheas), whilst in Goidelic the sound remained unaltered. q is retained in the earlier ogham inscriptions, but by the end of the seventh century it had lost the labial element, appearing in Old Irish as c. Thus O. Irish *cenn*, head, as in Kenmare, Kintyre, Kinsale, equates with Brythonic *pen*, as in Penryn (Cornwall), Penrhyn (Wales), Penkridge (Staffordshire), Penruddock, Penrith and many others. The two groups are therefore distinguished as the Q Celts and the P Celts¹. From the fact that Goidelic retained the q it has been commonly assumed that the Goidels were separated from the main Celtic stock at a time before the labialisation had taken place, but many scholars maintain that the parent Goidelic was evolved in Ireland, and was carried from that island to Man and Scotland in the early centuries of our era².

Celts in
Britain.

From an anthropological point of view, the Picts are if possible more difficult to identify than the Celts. But the question is not between tall fair long-heads and short dark round-heads, but between short dark long-heads (neolithic aborigines) and Celts. The Pictish

The Picts.

¹ Cf. the similar dual treatment in Italic.

² "No Gael [*i.e.* Q Celt] ever set his foot on British soil save on a vessel that had put out from Ireland." Kuno Meyer, *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion*, 1895-6, p. 69.

question is summed up by Rice Holmes¹ and the various theories have been more recently reviewed by Windisch² giving a valuable summary of earlier writings. On the one hand it is maintained as "the most tenable hypothesis that the Picts were non-Aryans, whom the first Celtic migrations found already settled here...descendants of the Aborigines³." Windisch² at the other extreme, regards them as late comers into North Britain, when Scotland was already occupied by Brythonic tribes. But the geographical distribution of the Picts in historical times suggests rather a people driven into mountainous regions by successive conquerors, than the settlements of successful invaders. Also it is not improbable that the language of the Bronze Age lingered in these wilder districts, and this would account for the fact that St Columba had to employ an interpreter in his relations with the Picts; though this is explained by others on the assumption that Pictish was Brythonic. The linguistic evidence is however extremely slight, only a few words presumably Pictish having survived and these through Celtic writers. "The one absolutely certain conclusion to which the student of ethnology can come is that the name of the Picts has not been proved to be of pre-Aryan origin⁴." "For me," continues Rice Holmes (p. 417), "the Picts were a mixed people comprising descendants of the neolithic aborigines, of the Round Barrow Race, and of the Celtic invaders—a mixed people who [or at least whose aristocracy] spoke a Celtic dialect."

Before attempting a survey of the ethnology of Britain it is necessary to ascertain what ethnic elements the area contained before the arrival of the Celts. The neolithic inhabitants, the short, dark dolichocephals of Mediterranean type have already been described (Ch. XIII.). Their remains are associated with the characteristic forms of sepulchral monuments the dolmens and the long barrows. But towards the end of the Stone Age a brachycephalic race was already penetrating into the islands. This appears to have been a peaceful infiltration, at any rate in certain districts, where remains of the two types are found

Brachycephals
in Britain.

¹ *Ancient Britain*, 1907, pp. 409-424.

² *Das keltische Britannien*, 1912, pp. 28-37.

³ J. Rhys, *The Welsh People*, 1902, pp. 13-14.

⁴ *Ancient Britain*, 1907, p. 414. The name of the Picts is apparently Indo-European in form, and if the Celts were late comers into Britain (see above) they may well have been preceded by invaders of Indo-European speech.

side by side and there is evidence of racial intermixture. The brachycephals introduced a new form of sepulture, making their burial mounds circular instead of elongated, whence Thurnam's convenient formula, "long barrow, long skull; round barrow, round skull." But the earlier view that there was a definite transition from long heads, neolithic culture and long barrows, to round heads, bronze culture and round barrows can no longer be maintained. "It is often taken for granted that no round barrows were erected in Britain before the close of the Neolithic Age, and that the earliest of the brachycephalic invaders whose remains have been found in them landed with bronze weapons in their hands¹." But there is abundant evidence that the brachycephalic element preceded the knowledge of metals, and a number of round barrows in Yorkshire and further north show no trace of bronze.

Nevertheless the majority of the round barrows belong to the Bronze Age, and the physical type of their builders is sufficiently well marked. The stature is remarkably tall, attaining a height of 1·763 m. or over 5 ft. 9 ins. The skull is brachycephalic with an average index of about 80. It is also characterised by great strength and ruggedness of outline, with (often) a sloping forehead, prominent supraciliary ridges, and a certain degree of prognathism.

Round Barrow
Type.

According to Rolleston's description "The eyebrows must have given a beetling and probably even formidable appearance to the upper part of the face, whilst the boldly outstanding and heavy cheekbones must have produced an impression of raw and rough strength. Overhung at its root, the nose must have projected boldly forward." And Thurnam adds "the prominence of the large incisor and canine teeth is so great as to give an almost bestial expression to the skull²."

Although this type is conveniently called the Round Barrow type, or even the Round Barrow Race, the round barrows also contain remains of a different racial character. The skull form shows a more extreme brachycephaly, with an index of 84 or 85, and exhibits none of the rugged features associated with the true Round Barrow type. On the contrary, of the two typical groups, one from

Alpine Type.

¹ T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, 1907, p. 408. Cf. A. Keith, "The Bronze Age Invaders of Britain," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLV. 1915.

² Quoted in T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, 1907, pp. 426-427.

round barrows in Glamorganshire, and the other from short cists in Aberdeenshire not one of the skulls is prognathous, the supraciliary ridges are but slightly developed, the cheek bones are not prominent, the face is both broad and short and the lower jaw is small. But the greatest contrast is in the height, which averages in the two groups, 1'664 m. and 1'6 m. respectively, *i.e.* 5 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins. and 5 ft. 3 ins. All these characters connect this type closely with the Alpine type on the continent.

These round-headed peoples have been the subject of much discussion ably summarised and criticised by Rice Holmes, whose conclusion perhaps best represents the view now taken of their affinities and origins.

"The great mistake that has been made in discussing the question is the not uncommon assumption that the brachycephalic immigrants who buried their dead in round barrows arrived in Britain at one time, and came from one place. Some of them certainly appeared before the end of the Neolithic Age: others may have introduced bronze implements or ornaments; others doubtless came, in successive hordes, during the course of the Bronze Age. Some of those who belonged to the Grenelle race [Alpine type], who certainly came from Eastern Europe and possibly from Asia, and whose centre of dispersion was the Alpine region, may have started from Gaul; others could have traced their origin to some Rhenish tribe; and I am inclined to believe that those who belonged to the characteristic rugged Round Barrow type crossed over, for the most part, from Denmark or the out-lying islands¹."

After the passage of the Romans, who mingled little with the aborigines and made, perhaps, but slight impression on the speech or type of the British populations, a great transformation was effected in these respects by the arrival of the historical Teutonic tribes. Hand in hand with the Teutonic invasions went a lust for expansion on the part of the peoples in Ireland. Settlements were effected by them in South Wales and Anglesey, the Isle of Man and

¹ T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, 1907, p. 443. See also John Abercromby, *A Study of the Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland and its associated Grave Goods*, 1912, tracing the distribution and migration of pottery forms: and the following papers of H. J. Fleure, "Archaeological Problems of the West Coast of Britain," *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Oct. 1915; "The Early Distribution of Population in South Britain," *ib.* April, 1916; "The Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLVI. 1916, and "A Proposal for Local Surveys of the British People," *Arch. Camb.* Jan. 1917.

Argyll, probably also in North Devon and Cornwall. For many generations the south and east of England were the scenes of fierce struggles, during which the Romano-British civilisation perished. Only in more inaccessible districts, such as the fen country, may a British population have survived, though Celtic languages are not yet dislodged from their mountain strongholds in Wales and Scotland, and lingered for many centuries in Strathclyde and Cornwall. After the strengthening of the Teutonic element by the arrival of the Scandinavians and Normans, all very much of the same physical type, no serious accessions were made to this composite ethnical group, which on the east side ranged uninterruptedly from the Channel to the Grampians. Later the expansion was continued northwards beyond the Grampians, and westwards through Strathclyde to Ireland, while now the spread of education and the development of the industries are already threatening to absorb the last strongholds of Celtic speech in Wales, the Highlands, and Ireland.

Thanks to its isolation in the extreme west, Ireland had been left untouched by some of the above described ethnical movements. It is doubtful whether Palaeolithic man ever reached this region, and but few even of the round-heads ranged so far west during the Bronze Age¹. The land oscillations during post-Glacial times appear to have been practically identical over an area including northern Ireland, the southern half of Scotland, and northern England. There was a period of depression followed by one of elevation. The Larne beach-deposits prove that Neolithic man was in existence from almost the beginning of the deposition of that series until after its conclusion. The estuarine clays of Belfast Lough correspond to the depression, and the Neolithic period extended from at least near the top of the lower estuarine clay to the beach-deposit of yellow sand which overlies it, or possibly till later. It is to this period of elevation that the Neolithic sites among the sand dunes of North Ireland belong; those of Whitepark Bay and Portstewart, for example, extend to the maximum elevation. A slight movement of subsidence of about five feet in recent times has left the surface as we now find it. The implements found in the Larne gravels correspond to some extent with those of Danish kitchen-middens; this

Ethnic Relations in Ireland.

¹ W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 310; T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, 1907, p. 432.

was not a dwelling site but a quarry-shop or roughing-out place, the serviceable flakes being taken away for further manipulation ; it thus belongs to the earliest phase of neolithic times. The sandhill sites were occupied, continuously and occasionally, during neolithic times, through the Bronze Age, and into the Iron and Christian periods¹. Nina F. Layard has recently studied the Larne raised beach and exposed a new section. She states that "Taken as a whole the flints certainly do not correspond at all closely either to the Palæoliths or Neoliths so far found in England....Some are strongly reminiscent of well-known drift type....Again, there are shapes that bear a closer resemblance to some of the earliest Neolithic types²." She believes that, from their rolled condition, they were derived from another source.

F. J. Bigger³ described some kitchen-middens at Port-nafeadog, near Roundstone, Connemara, which yielded stone hammers but no worked flints, pottery or metal-ware. The chief interest of this paper is due to the fact that it is the first record of the occurrence of vast quantities of the shells of *Purpura lapillus*, all of which were broken in such a manner that the animal could easily be extracted. There can be no doubt that the purple dye was manufactured here in prehistoric times⁴. W. J. Knowles⁵ suggests from the close resemblance—in fact identity—of a great number of neolithic objects in Ireland with palaeolithic forms in France (Saint-Acheul, Moustier, Solutré, La Madeleine types), that the Irish objects bridge over the gap between the two ages, and were worked by tribes from the continent following the migration of the reindeer northwards. These peoples may have continued to make tools of palaeolithic types, while at the same time coming under the influence of the neolithic culture gradually arriving from some southern region. The astonishing development of this neolithic culture in the remote island on the confines of the west, as illustrated in W. C. Borlase's sumptuous volumes⁶, is

¹ G. Coffey and R. Lloyd Praeger, "The Antrim Raised Beach: a Contribution to the Neolithic History of the North of Ireland," *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* xxv. (c.) 1904. See also the valuable series of "Reports on Prehistoric Remains from the Sandhills of the Coast of Ireland," *P. R. I. A.* xvi.

² *Man*, ix. 1909, No. 54.

³ *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* (3), iii. 1896, p. 727.

⁴ Cf. also J. Wilfred Jackson, "The Geographical Distribution of the Shell-Purple Industry," *Mem. and Proc. Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc.* lx. No. 7, 1916.

⁵ *Survivals from the Palaeolithic Age among Irish Neolithic Implements*, 1897.

⁶ *The Dolmens of Ireland*, 1897.

a perpetual wonder, but is rendered less inexplicable if we assume an immense duration of the New Stone Age in the British Isles. The Irish dolmen-builders were presumably of the same long-headed stock as those of Britain¹, and they were followed by Celtic-speaking Goidels who may have come directly from the continent², and there is evidence in Ptolemy and elsewhere of the presence of Brythonic tribes from Gaul in the east. Since these early historic times the intruders have been almost exclusively of Teutonic race, and Viking invaders from Norway and Denmark founded the earliest towns such as Dublin, Waterford and Limerick. Now all alike, save for an almost insignificant and rapidly dwindling minority, have assumed the speech of the English and Lowland Scotch intruders, who began to arrive late in the 12th century, and are now chiefly massed in Ulster, Leinster, and all the large towns. The rich and highly poetic Irish language has a copious medieval literature of the utmost importance to students of European origins.

In Scotland few ethnical changes or displacements have occurred since the colonisation of portions of the west by Gaelic-speaking Scottic tribes from Ireland, and the English (Angle) occupation of the Lothians. The Grampians have during historic times formed the main ethnical divide between the two elements, and brook-lets which can be taken at a leap are shown where the opposite banks have for hundreds of years been respectively held by formerly hostile, but now friendly communities of Gaelic and broad Scotch speech. Here the chief intruders have been Scandinavians, whose descendants may still be recognised in Caithness, the Hebrides, and the Orkney and Shetland groups. Faint echoes of the old Norrena tongue are said still to linger amongst the sturdy Shetlanders, whose assimilation to the dominant race began only after their transfer from Norway to the Crown of Scotland.

Relations in
Scotland.

¹ They need not, however, have come from Britain, and the allusions in Irish literature to direct immigration from Spain, probable enough in itself, are too numerous to be disregarded. Thus, Geoffrey of Monmouth:—"Hibernia Basclensibus [to the Basques] incolenda datur" (*Hist. Reg. Brit.* III. § 12); and Giraldus Cambrensis:—"De Gurguntio Brytonum Rege, qui Rasclenses [read Basclenses] in Hiberniam transmisit et eandem ipsis habitandam concessit." I am indebted to Wentworth Webster for these references (*Academy*, Oct. 19, 1895).

² H. Zimmer, "Auf welchen Wege kamen die Goidelen vom Kontinent nach Irland?" *Abh. d. K. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1912.

Since 1901 the researches of Gray and Tocher¹ on the pigmentation of some 500,000 school children of Scotland have increased our information as to racial distribution. The average percentage of boys with fair hair is nearly 25 for the whole of the country, and when this is compared with 82 in Schleswig Holstein "we are driven to the conclusion that the pure Norse or Anglo-Saxon element in our population is by no means predominant. There is evidently also a dark or brunette element which is at least equal in amount and probably greater than that of the Norse element" (p. 380). Pure blue eyes for the whole of Scotland average 14·7 per cent., which may be compared with 42·9 in Prussia. The greatest density for fair hair and eyes is to be found in the great river valleys opening on to the German Ocean, and also in the Western Isles. The Tweed, Forth, Tay and Don all show indications of settlements of a blonde race "probably due to Anglo-Saxon invasions," but the maximum is to be found at the mouth of the Spey. The high percentage here and in the Hebrides and opposite coasts, the authors trace to Viking invasions. The percentage of dark hair for boys and girls is 25·2 as compared with 1·3 in Prussian school children, the maximum density as we should expect being in the west. Jet black hair (1·2 %) has its maximum density in the central highlands and wild west coast. Beddoe² commenting on Gray and Tocher's results calculates an even higher percentage of black hair (over 2 %), "either within or astride of the Highland frontier. Except Paisley, there is not a single instance south of the Forth, nor one between the Spey and the Firth of Tay. Surely there is something 'racial' here." Beddoe's map, constructed from Gray and Tocher's statistics, clearly indicates the distribution of racial types.

The work carried on in Wales for a number of years by H. J. Fleure and T. C. James³ has produced some extremely interesting results. The chief types (based on measurements and observations of head, face, nose, skin, hair and eye colour, stature, etc.) fall into the following groups.

And in
Wales.

¹ J. Gray, "Memoir on the Pigmentation Survey of Scotland," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XXXVII. 1907.

² "A Last Contribution to Scottish Ethnology," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XXXVIII. 1908.

³ "The Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLVI. 1916.

1. "The fundamental type is certainly the long-headed brunet of the moorlands and their inland valleys. He is universally recognised as belonging to the Mediterranean race of Sergi and as dating back in this country to early Neolithic times." The cephalic index is about 78, with high colouring, dark hair and eyes, and stature rather below the average. A possible mixture of earlier stocks is shown in a longer-headed type (c.i. about 75), with well-marked occiput, very dark hair and eyes, swarthy complexion, and average stature (about 1690 mm. = 5 ft. 6½ ins.). Occasionally in North Wales the occurrence of lank black hair, a sallow complexion and prominent cheekbones suggests a "Mongoloid" type; and a type with small stature, black, closely curled hair and a rather broad nose has negroid reminiscences. The Plynlymon moorlands contain a "nest" of extreme dolichocephaly and an unusually high percentage of red hair.

2. Nordic-Alpine type, with cephalic index mainly between 76 and 81. This group includes (*a*) a "local version of the Nordic type" occurring at Newcastle Emlyn and in South and South-West Pembrokeshire with fair hair and eyes, usually tall stature and great strength of brow, jaw and chin; (*b*) a heavier variant on the Welsh border, often with cephalic index above 80, and extremely tall stature; (*c*) the Borreby or Beaker-Maker type, broad-headed and short-faced with darker pigmentation, probably a cross between Alpine and Nordic, characteristic of the long cleft from Corwen *via* Bala to Tabyllyn and Towyn.

3. Dark bullet-headed short thick-set men of the general type denoted by the term Alpine or more exactly perhaps by the term Cevenole are found, though not commonly, in North Montgomeryshire valleys.

4. Powerfully built, often intensely dark, broad-headed, broad-faced, strong and square jawed men are characteristic of the Ardudwy coast, the South Glamorgan coast, Newquay district (Cardiganshire) and elsewhere.

The authors observe that Type 1 with its variations contributes "considerable numbers to the ministries of the various churches, possibly in part from inherent and racial leanings, but partly also because these are the people of the moorlands. The idealism of such people usually expresses itself in music, poetry, literature and religion rather than in architecture, painting and plastic arts generally. They rarely have a suffi-

ciency of material resources for the latter activities. These types also contribute a number of men to the medical profession.... The successful commercial men, who have given the Welsh their extraordinarily prominent place in British trade (shipping firms for example) usually belong to types 2 or 4, rather than to 1, as also do the majority of Welsh members of Parliament, though there are exceptions of the first importance. The Nordic type is marked by ingenuity and enterprise in striking out new lines. Type 2 (c) in Wales is remarkable for governmental ability of the administrative kind as well as for independence of thought and critical power" (p. 119).

We have now all the elements needed to unravel the ethnical tangle of the present inhabitants of the British Isles.

Present Con-
stitution of
the British
Peoples.

The astonishing prevalence everywhere of the moderately dolicho heads is at once explained by the absence of brachy immigrants except in the Bronze period, and these could do no more than

raise the cephalic index from about 70 or 72 to the present mean of about 78. With the other perhaps less stable characters the case is not always quite so simple. The brunettes, representing the Mediterranean type, certainly increase, as we should expect, from north-east to south-west, though even here there is a considerable dark patch, due to local causes, in the home shires about London¹. But the stature, almost everywhere a troublesome factor, seems to wander somewhat lawlessly over the land.

Although a short stature more or less coincides with brunetteness in England and Wales, and the observations in Ireland are too few to be relied on, no such parallelism can be traced in Scotland. The west (Inverness and Argyllshire), though as dark as South Wales, shows an average stature of 1.73 m. to 1.74 m. (5 ft. 8 ins. to 5 ft. 8½ ins.), which is higher than the average for the whole of Britain. And South-west Scotland, where the type is fairly dark, contains the tallest population in Europe, if not in the world. Ripley suggests either that "some ethnic element of which no pure trace remains, served to increase the stature of the western Highlanders without at the same time conducing to blondness; or else some local influences of natural selection or environment are responsible for it"²; and he hints also that the linguistic distinction between

¹ For the explanation see W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 322 ff.

² W. Z. Ripley, *loc. cit.* p. 329.

Gaels and Brythons may have been associated with physical variation.

The English tongue need not detain us long. Its qualities, illustrated in the noblest of all literatures, are patent to the world¹, indeed have earned for it from Jacob Grimm the title of *Welt-Sprache*, the "World Speech." It belongs, as might be anticipated from the northern origin of the Teutonic element in Britain, to the Low German division of the Teutonic branch of the Aryan family. Despite extreme pressure from Norman French, continued for over 200 years (1066—1300), it has remained faithful to this connection in its inner structure, which reveals not a trace of Neo-Latin influences. The phonetic system has undergone profound changes, which can be only indirectly and to a small extent due to French action. What English owes to French and Latin is a very large number, many thousands, of words, some superadded to, some superseding their Saxon equivalents, but altogether immensely increasing its wealth of expression, while giving it a transitional position between the somewhat sharply contrasted Germanic and Romance worlds.

The English
Language.

Amongst the Romance peoples, that is, the French, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Rumanians, many Swiss and Belgians, who were entirely assimilated in speech and largely in their civil institutions to their Roman masters, the paramount position, a sort of international hegemony, has been taken by the French nation since the decadence of Spain under the feeble successors of Philip II. The constituent elements of these Gallo-Romans, as they may be called, are much the same as those of the British peoples, but differ in their distribution and relative proportions. Thus the Iberians (Aquitani, Pictones, and later Vascones), who may perhaps be identified with the neolithic long-heads², do not appear ever to have ranged much farther north than Brittany, and were Aryanised in pre-Roman times by the P-speaking Celts everywhere north of the Garonne. The prehistoric Teutons again, who had advanced beyond

The French
Nation.

¹ "The Frenchman, the German, the Italian, the Englishman, to each of whom his own literature and the great traditions of his national life are most dear and familiar, cannot help but feel that the vernacular in which these are embodied and expressed is, and must be, superior to the alien and awkward languages of his neighbours." L. Pearsall Smith, *The English Language*, p. 54.

² See above p. 455. T. Rice Holmes points out that the Aquitani were already mixed in type. *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 12.

the Rhine at an early period (Caesar says *antiquitus*) into the present Belgium, were mainly confined to the northern provinces. Even the historic Teutons (chiefly Franks and Burgundians) penetrated little beyond the Seine in the north and the present Burgundy in the east, while the Vandals, Visigoths and a few others passed rapidly through to Iberia beyond the Pyrenees.

Thus the greater part of the land, say from the Seine-Marne basin to the Mediterranean, continued to be held by the Romanised mass of Alpine type throughout all the central and most of the southern provinces, and elsewhere in the south by the Romanised long-headed Mediterranean type. This great preponderance of the Romanised Alpine masses explains the rapid absorption of the Teutonic intruders, who were all, except the Fleming section of the Belgae, completely assimilated to the Gallo-Romans before the close of the tenth century. It also explains the perhaps still more remarkable fact that the Norsemen who settled (912) under Rollo in Normandy were all practically Frenchmen when a few generations later they followed their Duke William to the conquest of Saxon England. Thus the only intractable groups have proved to be the Basques¹ and the Bretons, both of whom to this day retain their speech in isolated corners of the country. With these exceptions the whole of France, save the debatable area of Alsace-Lorraine, presents in its speech a certain homogeneous character, the standard language (*langue d'oïl*²) being current throughout all the northern and central provinces, while it is steadily gaining upon the southern form (*langue d'oc*²) still surviving in the rural districts of Limousin and Provence.

But pending a more thorough fusion of such tenacious elements as Basques, Bretons, Auvergnats, and Savoyards, we can scarcely yet speak of a common French type, but only of a common nationality. Tall stature, long skulls, fair or light brown colour, grey or blue eyes, still

¹ See above p. 454.

² That is, the languages whose affirmatives were the Latin pronouns *hoc illud* (*oil*) and *hoc (oc)*, the former being more contracted, the latter more expanded, as we see in the very names of the respective Northern and Southern bards: *Trouvères* and *Troubadours*. It was customary in medieval times to name languages in this way, Dante, for instance, calling Italian *la lingua del sì*, "the language of yes"; and, strange to say, the same usage prevails largely amongst the Australian aborigines, who, however, use both the affirmative and the negative particles, so that we have here *no-* as well as *yes*-tribes.

prevail, as might be expected, in the north, these being traits common alike to the prehistoric Belgae, the Franks of the Merovingian and Carolingian empires, and Rollo's Norsemen. With these contrast the southern peoples of short stature, olive-brown skin, round heads, dark brown or black eyes and hair. The tendency towards uniformity has proceeded far more rapidly in the urban than in the rural districts. Hence the citizens of Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles and other large towns, present fewer and less striking contrasts than the natives of the old historical provinces, where are still distinguished the loquacious and mendacious Gascon, the pliant and versatile Basque, the slow and wary Norman, the dreamy and fanatical Breton, the quick and enterprising Burgundian, and the bright, intelligent, more even-tempered native of Touraine, a typical Frenchman occupying the heart of the land, and holding, as it were, the balance between all the surrounding elements.

In Spain and Portugal we have again the same ethnological elements, but also again in different proportions and differently distributed, with others superadded—proto-Phoenicians and later Phoenicians (Carthaginians), Romans, Visigoths, Vandals, and still later Berbers and Arabs. Here the Celtic-speaking mixed peoples mingled in prehistoric times with the long-headed Mediterranean, an ethnical fusion known to the ancients, who labelled it "Keltiberian¹." But, as in Britain, the other intruders were mostly long-heads, with the striking result that the Peninsula presents to-day exactly the same uniform cranial type as the British Isles. Even the range (76 to 79) and the mean (78) of the cephalic index are the same, rising in Spain to 80 only in the Basque corner. As Ripley states, "the average cephalic index of 78 occurs nowhere else so uniformly distributed in Europe" except in Norway, and this uniformity "is the concomitant and index of two relatively pure, albeit widely different, ethnic types—Mediterranean in Spain, Teutonic in Norway²."

The
Spaniards and
Portuguese.

In other respects the social, one might almost say the national, groups are both more numerous and perhaps even more sharply discriminated in the Peninsula than in France. Besides the Basques and

Provincial
Groups.

¹ S. Feist points out that two physical types were recognised in antiquity, one dark and one fair, and reference to red hair and fair skin suggests Celtic infusion. *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, p. 365.

² *Science Progress*, p. 159.

Portuguese, the latter with a considerable strain of negro blood¹, we have such very distinct populations as the haughty and punctilious Castilians, who under an outward show of pride and honour, are capable of much meanness; the sprightly and vainglorious Andalusians, who have been called the Gascons of Spain, yet of graceful address and seductive manners; the morose and impassive Murcians, indolent because fatalists; the gay Valencians given to much dancing and revelry, but also to sudden fits of murderous rage, holding life so cheap that they will hire themselves out as assassins, and cut their bread with the blood-stained knife of their last victim; the dull and superstitious Aragonese, also given to bloodshed, and so obdurate that they are said to "drive nails in with their heads"; lastly the Catalans, noisy and quarrelsome, but brave, industrious, and enterprising; on the whole the best element in this motley aggregate of unbalanced temperaments. The various aspects of Spanish temperament are regarded by Havelock Ellis² as manifestations of an aboriginally primitive race, which, under the stress of a peculiarly stimulating and yet hardening environment, has retained through every stage of development an unusual degree of the endowment of fresh youth, of elemental savagery, with which it started. This explains the fine qualities of Spain and her defects, the splendid initiative, and lack of sustained ability to carry it out, the importance of the point of honour and the glorification of the primitive virtue of valour.

In Italy the past and present relations, as elucidated especially by Livi and Sergi, may be thus briefly stated. After the first Stone Age, of which there are fewer indications than might be expected³, the whole land was thickly settled by dark long-headed Mediterranean peoples in neolithic times. These were later joined by Pelasgians of like type from Greece, and by Illyrians of doubtful affinity from the Balkan Peninsula. Indeed C.

Ethnic Relations in Italy.

¹ "The Portuguese are much mixed with Negroes more particularly in the south and along the coast. The slave trade existed long before the Negroes of Guinea were exported to the plantations of America. Damião de Goes estimated the number of blacks imported into Lisbon alone during the 16th century at 10,000 or 12,000 per annum. If contemporary eye-witnesses can be trusted, the number of blacks met with in the streets of Lisbon equalled that of the whites. Not a house but had its negro servants, and the wealthy owned entire gangs of them" (Reclus, I. p. 471).

² "The Spanish People," *Cont. Rev.* May, 1907, and *The Soul of Spain*, 1908.

³ T. E. Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, 1909, gives a full account of the archaeology.

Penka¹, who has so many paradoxical theories, makes the Illyrians the first inhabitants of Italy, as shown by the striking resemblance of the *terramara* culture of Aemilia with that of the Venetian and Laibach pile-dwellings. The recent finds in Bosnia also², besides the historically proved (?) migration of the Siculi from Upper Italy to Sicily, and their Illyrian origin, all point in the same direction. But the facts are differently interpreted by Sergi³, who holds that the whole land was occupied by the Mediterraneans, because we find even in Switzerland pile-dwellers of the same type⁴.

Then came the peoples of Aryan speech, Celtic-speaking Alpines from the north-west and Slavs from the north-east, who raised the cephalic index in the north, where the brachy element, as already seen, still greatly predominates but diminishes steadily southwards⁵. They occupied the whole of Umbria, which at first stretched across the peninsula from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean, but was later encroached upon by the intruding Etruscans on the west side. Then also some of these Umbrians, migrating southwards to Latium beyond the Tiber, intermingled, says Sergi, with the Italic (Ligurian) aborigines, and became the founders of the Roman state⁶. With the spread of the Roman arms the Latin language, which Sergi claims to be a kind of Aryanised Ligurian, but must be regarded as a true member of the Aryan family, was

¹ "Zur Paläoethnologie Mittel- u. Südeuropas" in *Mitt. Wiener Anthrop. Ges.* 1897, p. 18. It should here be noted that in his *History of the Greek Language* (1896) Kretschmer connects the inscriptions of the Veneti in north Italy and of the Messapians in the south with the Illyrian linguistic family, which he regards as Aryan intermediate between the Greek and the Italic branches, the present Albanian being a surviving member of it. In the same Illyrian family W. M. Lindsay would also include the "Old-Sabellian" of Picenum, "believed to be the oldest inscriptions on Italian soil. The manifest identity of the name *Aodatos* and the word *meitimon* with the Illyrian names *Ajdāra* and *Meitima* is almost sufficient of itself to prove these inscriptions to be Illyrian. Further the whole character of their language, with its Greek and its Italic features, corresponds with what we know and what we can safely infer about the Illyrian family of languages" (*Academy*, Oct. 24, 1896). Cf. R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, 1897.

² R. Munro, *Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia*, 1900. See also W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, 1901, ch. v., showing that remains of the Iron Age in Bosnia are closely connected with Hallstatt and La Tène cultures.

³ *Arii e Italici*, p. 158 sq.

⁴ "Liguri e Pelasgi furono i primi abitatori d'Italia; e Liguri sembra siano stati quelli che occupavano la Valle del Po e costruirono le palafitte, e Liguri forse anche i costruttori delle palafitte svizzere: Mediterranei tutti" (*Ib.* p. 138).

⁵ Ripley's chart shows a range of from 87 in Piedmont to 76 and 77 in Calabria, Puglia, and Sardinia, and 75 and under in Corsica. *The Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 251.

⁶ But cf. W. Ridgeway, *Who were the Romans?* 1908.

diffused throughout the whole of the peninsula and islands, sweeping away all traces not only of the original Ligurian and other Mediterranean tongues, but also of Etruscan and its own sister languages, such as Umbrian, Oscan, and Sabellian.

At the fall of the empire the land was overrun by Ostrogoths, Heruli, and other Teutons, none of whom formed permanent settlements except the Longobards, who gave their name to the present Lombardy, but were themselves rapidly assimilated in speech and general culture to the surrounding populations, whom we may now call Italians in the modern sense of the term.

When it is remembered that the Aegean culture had spread to Italy at an early date, that it was continued under Hellenic influences by Etruscans and Umbrians, that Greek arts and letters were planted on Italian soil (*Magna Graecia*) before the foundation of Rome, that all these civilisations converged in Rome itself and were thence diffused throughout the West, that the traditions of previous cultural epochs never died out, acquired new life with the Renaissance and were thus perpetuated to the present day, it may be claimed for the gifted Italian people that they have been for a longer period than any others under the unbroken sway of general humanising influences.

These "Latin Peoples," as they are called because they all speak languages of the Latin stock, are not confined to the West. To the Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, with the less known and ruder Walloon of Belgium and Romansch of Switzerland, Tyrol, and Friuli, must be associated the *Rumanian* current amongst some nine millions of so-called "Daco-Rumanians" in Moldavia and Wallachia, *i.e.* the modern kingdom of Rumania. The same Neo-Latin tongue is also spoken by the *Tsintsars* or *Kutzo-Vlacks*¹ of the Mount Pindus districts in the Balkan Peninsula, and by numerous Rumanians who have in later times migrated into Hungary. They form a compact and vigorous nationality, who claim direct descent from the Roman

Arts and
Ethics.

The
Rumanians.

¹ The true name of these southern or Macedo-Rumanians, as pointed out by Gustav Weigand (*Globus*, LXXI. p. 54), is *Aramáni* or *Armáni*, *i.e.* "Romans." *Tsintsar*, *Kutzo-Vlack*, etc. are mere nicknames, by which they are known to their Macedonian (Bulgar and Greek) neighbours. See also W. R. Morfill in *Academy*, July 1, 1893. The Vlachs of Macedonia are described by E. Pears, *Turkey and its People*, 1911, and a full account of the Balkan Vlachs is given by A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 1914.

military colonists settled north of the Lower Danube by Trajan after his conquest of the Dacians (107 A.D.). But great difficulties attach to this theory, which is rejected by many ethnologists, especially on the ground that, after Trajan's time, Dacia was repeatedly swept clean by the Huns, the Finns, the Avars, Magyars and other rude Mongolo-Turki hordes, besides many almost ruder Slavic peoples during the many centuries when the eastern populations were in a state of continual flux after the withdrawal of the Roman legionaries from the Lower Danube. Besides, it is shown by Roesler¹ and others that under Aurelian (257 A.D.) Trajan's colonists withdrew bodily southwards to and beyond the Hemus to the territory of the old Bessi (Thracians), *i.e.* the district still occupied by the Macedo-Rumanians. But in the 13th century, during the break-up of the Byzantine empire, most of these fugitives were again driven north to their former seats beyond the Danube, where they have ever since held their ground, and constituted themselves a distinct and far from feeble branch of the Neo-Latin community. The Pindus, therefore, rather than the Carpathians, is to be taken as the last area of dispersion of these valiant and intelligent descendants of the Daco-Romans. This seems the most rational solution of what A. D. Xenopol calls "an historic enigma," although he himself rejects Roesler's conclusions in favour of the old view so dear to the national pride of the present Rumanian people². The composite character of the Rumanian language—fundamentally Neo-Latin or rather early Italian, with strong Illyrian (Albanian) and Slav affinities—would almost imply that Dacia had never been Romanised under the empire, and that in fact this region was *for the first time* occupied by its present Romance speaking inhabitants in the 13th century³. The nomadic life of the Rumanians is in itself, as Peisker points out⁴, a refutation of their descent from settled Roman colonists, and indicates a Central Asiatic origin. The mounted nomads grazed during the summer "on most of the mountains of the

¹ *Romänische Studien*, Leipzig, 1871.

² *Les Roumains au Moyen Age*, *passim*. Hunfalvy, quoted by A. J. Patterson (*Academy*, Sept. 7, 1895), also shows that "for a thousand years there is no authentic mention of a Latin or Romance speaking population north of the Danube."

³ This view is held by L. Réthy, also quoted by Patterson, and the term *Vlach* (*Welsch*, whence Wallachia) applied to the Rumanians by all their Slav and Greek neighbours points in the same direction.

⁴ T. Peisker, "The Asiatic Background," *Camb. Med. Hist.* Vol. I. 1911, p. 356, and "The Expansion of the Slavs," *ib.* Vol. II. 1913, p. 440.

Balkan peninsula, and took up their winter quarters on the sea-coasts among a peasant population speaking a different language. Thence they gradually spread, unnoticed by the chroniclers, along all the mountain ranges, over all the Carpathians of Transylvania, North Hungary, and South Galicia, to Moravia; towards the north-west from Montenegro onwards over Herzegovina, Bosnia, Istria, as far as South Styria; towards the south over Albania far into Greece.... And like the peasantry among which they wintered (and winter) long enough, they became (and become) after a transitory bilingualism, Greeks, Albanians, Servians, Bulgarians, Ruthenians, Poles, Slovaks, Chekhs, Slovenes, Croatians... a mobile nomad stratum among a strange-tongued and more numerous peasant element, and not till later did they gradually take to agriculture and themselves become settled."

The Pelasgians and Minoan civilisation have been briefly discussed above (Ch. XIII.). Later problems in Greek ethnology are still under dispute. Sergi, who regards the proto-
Ethnic Re- Aryans as round-headed barbarians of Celtic,
lations in Slav, and Teutonic speech, makes no exception in
Greece. favour of the Hellenes. These also enter Greece not as civilisers, but rather as destroyers of the flourishing Mykenaeen culture developed here, as in Italy, by the Mediterranean aborigines. But in course of time the intruders become absorbed in the Pelasgic or eastern branch of the Mediterraneans, and what we call Hellenism is really Pelasgianism revived, and to some extent modified by the Aryan (Hellenic) element.

If it may be allowed that at their advent the Hellenes were less civilised than the native Aegeans on whom they imposed their Aryan speech, whence and when came they?

The Hellenes. By Penka¹, for whom the Baltic lands would be the original home not merely of the Germanic branch but of all the Aryans, the Hellenic cradle is located in the Oder basin between the Elbe and the Vistula. As the Doric, doubtless the last Greek irruption into Hellas, is chronologically fixed at 1149 B.C., the beginning of the Hellenic migrations may be dated back to the 13th century. When the Hellenes migrated from Central Europe to Greece, the period of the general ethnic dispersion was already closed, and the migratory period which next followed began with the Hellenes, and was continued by the Itali, Gauls, Germans, etc. The difficulties

¹ *Mitt. Wiener Anthropol. Ges.* 1897, p. 18.

created by this view are insurmountable. Thus we should have to suppose that from this relatively contracted Aryan cradle countless tribes swarmed over Europe since the 13th century B.C., speaking profoundly different languages (Greek, Celtic, Latin, etc.), all differentiated since that time on the shores of the Baltic. The proto-Aryans with their already specialised tongues had reached the shores of the Mediterranean long before that time and, according to Maspero¹, were known to the Egyptians of the 5th dynasty (3990–3804 B.C.) if not earlier. Allowing that these may have rather been pre-Hellenes (Pelasgians), we still know that the Achaeans had traditionally arrived about 1250 B.C. and they were already speaking the language of Homer.

"The indications of archaeology and of legend agree marvellously well with those of the Egyptian records," says H. R. Hall², "in making the Third Late Minoan period one of incessant disturbance.... The whole basin of the Eastern Mediterranean seems to have been a seething turmoil of migrations, expulsions, wars and piracies, started first by the Mycenaean (Achaian) conquest of Crete, and then intensified by the constant impulse of the Northern iron-users into Greece." Herodotus speaks of the great invasion of the Thesprotian tribes from beyond Pindus, which took place probably in the 13th century B.C.³ As a result "an overwhelming Aryan and iron-using population was first brought into Greece. The earlier Achaian (?) tribes of Aryans in Thessaly, who had perhaps lived there from time immemorial, and had probably already infiltrated southwards to form the mixed Ionian population about the Isthmus, were scattered, only a small portion of the nation remaining in its original home, while of the rest part conquered the South and another part emigrated across the sea to the Phrygian coast. Of this

¹ *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 391.

² *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 1913, p. 69.

³ Hall notes (p. 73) that "it is to the Thesprotian invasion, which displaced the Achaeans, that, in all probability, the general introduction of iron into Greece is to be assigned. The invaders came ultimately from the Danube region, where iron was probably first used in Europe, whereas their kindred, the Achaeans, had possibly already lived in Thessaly in the Stone Age, and derived the knowledge of metal from the Aegeans. The speedy victory of the new-comers over the older Aryan inhabitants of Northern Greece may be ascribed to their possession of iron weapons." Ridgeway, however, has little difficulty in proving that the Achaeans themselves were tall fair Celts from Central Europe. *The Early Age of Greece*, 1901, especially chap. IV., "Whence came the Achaeans?" The question is dealt with from a different point of view by J. L. Myres, in *The Dawn of History*, 1911, chap. IX., "The Coming of the North," tracing the invasion from the Eurasian steppes.

emigration to Asia the first event must have been the war of Troy....The Boeotian and Achaian invasion of the South scattered the Minyae, Pelasgians, and Ionians. The remnant of the Minyae emigrated to Lemnos, the Pelasgi and Ionians were concentrated in Attica and another body of Ionians in the later Achaia, while the Southern Achaeans pressed forward into the Peloponnese¹."

It is evident from the national traditions that the proto-Greeks did not arrive *en bloc*, but rather at intervals in separate and often hostile bands bearing different names. But all these groups—Achaeans, Danai, Argians, Dolopes, Myrmidons, Leleges and many others, some of which were also found in Asia Minor—retained a strong sense of their common origin. The sentiment, which may be called racial rather than national, received ultimate expression when to all of them was extended the collective name of Hellenes (Sellenes originally), that is, descendants of Deucalion's son Hellen, whose two sons Aeolus and Dorus, and grandson Ion, were supposed to be the progenitors of the Aeolians, Dorians, and Ionians. But such traditions are merely reminiscences of times when the tribal groupings still prevailed, and it may be taken for granted that the three main branches of the Hellenic stock did not spring from a particular family that rose to power in comparatively recent times in the Thessalian district of Phthiotis. Whatever truth may lie behind the Hellenic legend, it is highly probable that, at the time when Hellen is said to have flourished (about 1500 B.C.), the Aeolic-speaking communities of Thessaly, Arcadia, Boeotia, the closely-allied Dorians² of Phocaea, Argos, and Laconia, and the Ionians of Attica, had already been clearly specialised, had in fact formed special

The Greek
Language.

groups before entering Greece. Later their dialects, after acquiring a certain polish and leaving some imperishable records of the many-sided Greek genius, were gradually merged in the literary Neo-Ionic or Attic, which thus became the *κοινή διάλεκτος*, or current speech of the Greek world.

Admirable alike for its manifold aptitudes and surprising vitality, the language of Aeschylus, Thucydides, and the other great Athenians outlived all the vicissitudes of the

¹ H. R. Hall, *loc. cit.* p. 68; cf. H. Peake, *Journ. Roy. Anth. Inst.* 1916, p. 154.

² C. H. Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," *Ann. Brit. School Ath.* No. xvi. 1909-10, proves that the Dorian or Illyrian (Alpine) type still persists in South Greece and Crete.

Byzantine empire, during which it was for a time banished from Southern Greece, and even still survives, although in a somewhat degraded form, in the Romaic or Neo-Hellenic tongue of modern Hellas. Romaic, a name which recalls a time when the Byzantines were known as "Romans" throughout the East, differs far less from the classical standard than do any of the Romance tongues from Latin. Since the restoration of Greek independence great efforts have been made to revive the old language in all its purity, and some modern writers now compose in a style differing little from that of the classic period.

Yet the Hellenic race itself has almost perished on the mainland. Traces of the old Greek type have been detected by Lenormant and others, especially amongst the women of Patras and Missolonghi. But within living memory Attica was still an Albanian land, and Fallmerayer has conclusively shown that the Peloponnesus and adjacent districts had become thoroughly Slavonised during the 6th and 7th centuries¹. "For many centuries," writes the careful Roesler, "the Greek peninsula served as a colonial domain for the Slavs, receiving the overflow of their population from the Sarmatian lowlands²." Their presence is betrayed in numerous geographical terms, such as *Varsova* in Arcadia, *Glogova*, *Tsilikhova*, etc. Nevertheless, since the revival of the Hellenic sentiment there has been a steady flow of Greek immigration from the Archipelago and Anatolia; and the Albanian, Slav, Italian, Turkish, Rumanian, and Norman elements have in modern Greece already become almost completely Hellenised, at least in speech. Of the old dialects Doric alone appears to have survived in the Tsaconic of the Laconian hills. The Greek language has, however, disappeared from Southern Italy, Sicily, Syria, and the greater part of Egypt and Asia Minor, where it was long dominant.

To understand the appearance of SLAVS in the Peloponnesus we must go back to the Eurasian steppe, the probable cradle of these multitudinous populations. Here they have often been confused with the ancient Sarmatae, The Slavs. who already before the dawn of history were in possession of the South Russian plains between the Scythians towards the

¹ *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*, Stuttgart, 1830. See also G. Finlay's *Mediaeval Greece*, and the *Anthrop. Rev.* 1868, VI. p. 154.

² *Römische Studien*, 1871.

east and the proto-Germanic tribes before their migration to the Baltic lands. But even at that time, before the close of the Neolithic Age, there must have been interminglings, if not with the western Teutons, almost certainly with the eastern Scythians, which helps to explain the generally vague character of the references made by classical writers both to the Sarmatians and the Scythians, who sometimes seem to be indistinguishable from savage Mongol hordes, and at others are represented as semi-cultured peoples, such as the Aryans of the Bronze period might have been round about the district of Olbia and the other early Miletian settlements on the northern shores of the Euxine.

Owing to these early crossings André Lefèvre goes so far as to say that "there is no Slav race¹," but only nations of divers more or less pure types, more or less crossed, speaking dialects of the same language, who later received the name of Slavs, borne by a prehistoric tribe of *Sarmatians*, and meaning "renowned," "illustrious²." Both their language and mythologies, continues Lefèvre, point to the vast region near Irania as the primeval home of the Slav, as of the Celtic and Germanic populations. The Sauromatae or Sarmatae of Herodotus³, who had given their name to the mass of Slav or Slavonised peoples, still dwelt north of the Caucasus and south of the *Budini* between the Caspian, the Don and Sea of Azov; "after

The Sarmatians.

crossing the Tanais (Don) we are no longer in Scythia; we begin to enter the lands of the Sauromatae, who, starting from the angle of the Palus Moeotis (Sea of Azov), occupy a space of 15 days' march, where are neither trees, fruit-trees, nor savages. Above the tract fallen to them the Budini occupy another district, which is overgrown with all kinds of trees⁴." Then Herodotus seems to identify these Sarmatians with the Scythians, whence all the subsequent doubts and confusion. Both spoke the same language, of which seven distinct dialects are men-

¹ *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 351 sq.

² By a sort of grim irony the word has come to mean "slave" in the West, owing to the multitudes of Slavs captured and enslaved during the medieval border warfare. But the term is by many referred to the root *slovo*, word; speech, implying a people of intelligible utterance, and this is supported by the form *Slovene* occurring in Nestor and still borne by a southern Slav group. See T. Peisker, "The Expansion of the Slavs," *Cambr. Med. Hist.* Vol. II. 1913, p. 421 n. 2.

³ IV. 21.

⁴ These Budini are described as a large nation with "remarkably blue eyes and red hair," on which account Zaborowski thinks they may have been ancestors of the present Finns. But they may also very well have been belated proto-Germans left behind by the body of the nation *en route* for their new Baltic homes.

tioned, yet a number of personal names preserved by the Greeks have a certain Iranian look, so that these Scythian tongues seem to have been really Aryan, forming a transition between the Asiatic and the European branches of the family.

The probable explanation is that the Scythians¹ were a horde which came down from Upper Asia, conquered an Iranian-speaking people, and in time adopted the speech of its subjects. E. H. Minns² suggests that the settled Scythians represent the remains of the Iranian population, and the nomads the conquering peoples. These were displaced later by the Sarmatians, and Scythia becomes merely a geographical term. Skulls dug up in Scythic graves throw no light on racial affinities, some being long, and some short, but in customs there is a close analogy with the Mongols, though, as Minns points out, "the natural conditions of steppe-ranging dictated the greater part of them."

Both Slav and Germanic tribes had probably in remote times penetrated up the Danube and the Volga, while some of the former under the name of *Wends* (*Venedi*³), appear to have reached the Carpathians and the Baltic shores down the Vistula. The movement was continued far into medieval times, when great overlappings took place, and when numerous Slav tribes, some still known as Wends, others as *Sorbs*, *Croats*, or *Chekhs*, ranged over Central Europe to Pomerania and beyond the Upper Elbe to Suabia. Most of these have long been Teutonised, but a few of the *Polabs*⁴ survive as Wends in Prussian and Saxon Lausatz, while the Chekhs and *Slovaks* still hold their ground in Bohemia and Moravia, as the *Poles* do in Posen and the Vistula valley, and the *Rusniaks* or *Ruthenes* with the closely allied "Little Russians," in the Carpathians, Galicia, and Ukraina.

It was from the Carpathian⁵ lands that came those *Yugo-Slavs* ("Southern Slavs") who, under the collective name of

¹ Cf. p. 304.

² *Scythians and Greeks*, 1909.

³ The meaning of *Wend* is uncertain. It has led to confusion with the Armorican *Venedi*; the Paphlagonian *Enetae*, and the Adriatic *Enetae-Venetae*, all non-Slav peoples. Shakhmatov regards it as a name inherited by Slavs from their conquerors, the Celtic *Venedi*, who occupied the Vistula region in the 3rd or 2nd centuries B.C. See T. Peisker, "The Expansion of the Slavs," *Camb. Med. Hist.* Vol. II. 1913, p. 421 n. 2.

⁴ That is, the Elbe Slaves, from *po*=by, near, and *Labe*=Elbe; cf. *Pomor* (Pomeranians), "by the Sea"; Borussia, Porussia, Prussia, originally peopled by the *Pruczi*, a branch of the Lithuanians Germanised in the 17th century.

⁵ *Carpath*, *Khrobat*, *Khovrat* are all the same word, meaning highlands, mountains, hence not strictly an ethnic term, although at present so used by the *Crovats* or *Croatians*, a considerable section of the Yugo-Slavs south of the Danube.

Sorbs (Serbs, Servians), moved southwards beyond the Danube, and overran a great part of the Balkan peninsula and nearly the whole of Greece in the 6th and 7th centuries. They were the Khorvats¹ or Khrobats¹ from the upland valleys of the Oder and Vistula, whom, after his Persian wars, Heraclius invited to settle in the wasted provinces south of the Danube, hoping, as Nadir Shah did later with the Kurds in Khorasan, to make them a northern bulwark of the empire against the incursions of the Avars and other Mongolo-Turki hordes. Thus was formed the first permanent settlement of the Yugo-Slavs in Croatia, Istria, Dalimatia, Bosnia, and the Nerenta valley in 680, under the five brothers Klukas, Lobol, Kosentses, Múkl, and Khrobat, with their sisters Tuga and Buga. These were followed by the kindred Srp (Sorb) tribes from the Elbe, who left their homes in Misnia and Lusatia, and received as their patrimony the whole region between Macedonia and Epirus, Dardania, Upper Moesia, the Dacia of Aurelian, and Illyria, *i.e.* Bosnia and Servia. The lower Danube was at the same time occupied by the *Severenses*, "Seven Nations," also Slavs, who reached to the foot of the Hemus beyond the present Varna. Nothing could stem this great Slav inundation, which soon overflowed into Macedonia (Rumelia), Thessaly, and Peloponnesus, so that for a time nearly the whole of the Balkan lands, from the Danube to the Mediterranean, became a Slav domain—parts of Illyria and Epirus (Albania) with the Greek districts about Constantinople alone excepted.

Hellas, as above seen, has recovered itself, and the *Albanians*², direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, still

The Albanians. hold their ground and keep alive the last echoes of the old Illyrian language, which was almost certainly a proto-Aryan form of speech probably intermediate, as above-mentioned, between the Italic and Hellenic branches. They even retain the old tribal system, so that there are not only two main sections, the northern *Ghegs* and the southern *Toshks*, but each section is divided into a number of minor groups³, such as the Malliesors (Klementi, Pulati, Hoti, etc.)

¹ See note 5, p. 537.

² That is, "Highlanders" (root *alb, alp*, height, hill). From *Albanites* through the Byzantine *Arvanites* comes the Turkish *Arnaut*, while the national name *Skëpetar* has precisely the same meaning (root *skëp, scop*, as in *σκόπελος*, scopulus, cliff, crag).

³ There are about twenty of these *phis* or *phar* (phratries) amongst the Ghegs, and the practice of exogamous marriage still survives amongst the Mirdites south of the Drin, who, although Catholics, seek their wives amongst the surrounding hostile Turkish and Muhammadan Ghëg populations.

and Mirdites (Dibri, Fandi, Matia, etc.) in the north, and the Toxides (whence Toshk) and the Yapides (Lapides) in the south. The southerners are mainly Orthodox Greeks, and in other respects half-Hellenised Epirotes, the northerners partly Moslem and partly Roman Catholics of the Latin rite. From this section came chiefly those Albanians who, after the death (1467) of their valiant champion, George Castriota (*Scanderbeg*, "Alexander the Great"), fled from Turkish oppression and formed numerous settlements, especially in Calabria and Sicily, and still retain their national traditions.

In their original homes, located by some between the Bug and the Dnieper, the Slavs have not only recovered from the fierce Mongolo-Turki and Finn tornadoes, by which the eastern steppes were repeatedly swept The Russians. for over 1500 years after the building of the Great Wall, but have in recent historic times displayed a prodigious power of expansion second only to that of the British peoples. The *Russians* (Great, Little, and White Russians), whose political empire now stretches continuously from the Baltic to the Pacific, have already absorbed nearly all the Mongol elements in East Europe, have founded compact settlements in Caucasia and West Siberia, and have thrown off numerous pioneer groups of colonists along all the highways of trade and migration, and down the great fluvial arteries between the Ob and the Amur estuary. They number collectively over 100 millions, with a domain of some nine million square miles. The majority belong to Deniker's Eastern race¹ (a variety of the Alpine type), being blond, sub-brachycephalic and short, 1'64 m. (5 ft. 4½ ins.). The Little Russians in the South on the Black Mould belt are more brachycephalic and have darker colouring and taller stature. The White Russians in the West between Poland and Lithuania are the fairest of all.

We need not be detained by the controversy carried on between Sergi and Zaborowski regarding a prehistoric spread of the Mediterranean race to Russia². The skulls from several of the old Kurgans, identified by Sergi with his Mediterranean type, have not been sufficiently determined as to date or cultural periods to decide the question, while their dolicho shape is common both to the

Russian
Origins.

¹ J. Deniker, "Les Six Races composant la Population actuelle de l'Europe," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XXXIV. 1904, pp. 182, 202.

² *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* VII. 1896.

Mediterraneans and to the proto-Aryans of the North European type¹. To this stock the proto-Slavs are affiliated by Zaborowski and many others², although the present Slavs are all distinctly round-headed. Ripley asks, almost in despair, what is to be done with the present Slav element, and decides to apply "the term *Homo Alpinus* to this broad-headed group wherever it occurs, whether on mountains or plains, in the west or in the east³."

We are beset by the same difficulties as we pass with the Ossets of the Caucasus into the Iranian and Indian domains of

The Ossets. the proto-Aryan peoples. These Ossets, who are

the only aborigines of Aryan speech in Caucasia, are by Zaborowski⁴ identified with the Alans, who are already mentioned in the 1st century A.D. and were Scythians of Iranian speech, blonds, mixed with Medes, and perhaps descendants of the Massagetae. We know from history that the Goths and Alans became closely united, and it may be from the Goths that the Osset descendants of the Alans (some still call themselves Alans) learned to brew beer. Elsewhere⁵ Zaborowski represents the Ossets as of European origin, till lately for the most part blonds, though now showing many Scythian traits. But they are not physically Iranians "despite the Iranian and Asiatic origin of their language," as shown by Max Kowalewsky⁶. On the whole, therefore, the Ossets may be taken as originally blond Europeans, closely blended with Scythians, and later with the other modern Caucasus peoples, who are mostly brown brachys. But Ernest Chantre⁷ allies these groups to their brown and brachy Tatar neighbours, and denies that the Ossets are the last remnants of Germanic immigrants into Caucasia.

We have therefore in the Caucasus a very curious and puzzling phenomenon—several somewhat distinct groups of aborigines, mainly of de Lapouge's Alpine type, but all except the Ossets speaking

**The Caucasus
Aborigines.**

¹ Hence Virchow (Meeting Ger. Anthropol. Soc. 1897) declared that the extent and duration of the Slav encroachments in German territory could not be determined by the old skulls, because it is impossible to say whether a given skull is Slav or not.

² Especially Lubor Niederle, for whom the proto-Slavs are unquestionably long-headed blonds like the Teutons, although he admits that round skulls occur even of old date, and practically gives up the attempt to account for the transition to the modern Slav.

³ "The Racial Geography of Europe," in *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1897.

⁴ *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 81 sq.

⁵ *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1894, p. 36.

⁶ *Droit Coutumier Ossétien*, 1893.

⁷ Quoted by Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens* etc. p. 11.

an amazing number of non-Aryan stock languages. Philologists have been for some time hard at work in this linguistic wilderness, the "Mountain of Languages" of the early Arabo-Persian writers, without greatly reducing the number of independent groups, while many idioms traceable to a single stem still differ so profoundly from each other that they are practically so many stocks. Of the really distinct families the more important are:—the *Kartweli* of the southern slopes, comprising the historical Georgian, cultivated since the 5th century, the Mingrelian, Imeritian, Laz of Lazistan, and many others; the *Cherkess* (Circassian), the *Abkhasian* and *Kabard* of the Western and Central Caucasus; the *Chechenz* and *Lesghian*, the *Andi*, the *Ude*, the *Kubachi* and *Duodez* of Daghestan, *i.e.* the Eastern Caucasus. Where did this babel of tongues come from? We know that 2500 years ago the relations were much the same as at present, because the Greeks speak of scores of languages current in the port of Dioscurias in their time. If therefore the aborigines are the "sweepings of the plains," they must have been swept up long before the historic period. Did they bring their different languages with them, or were these specialised in their new upland homes? The consideration that an open environment makes for uniformity, secluded upland valleys for diversity, seems greatly to favour the latter assumption, which is further strengthened by the now established fact that, although there are few traces of the Palaeolithic epoch, the Caucasus was somewhat thickly inhabited in the New Stone Age.

Crossing into Irania we are at once confronted with totally different conditions. For the ethnologist this region comprises, besides the tableland between the Tigris and Indus, both slopes of the Hindu-Kush, and the Pamir, with the uplands bounded south and north by the upper courses of the Oxus and the Sir-darya. The Iranians. Overlooking later Mongolo-Turki encroachments, a general survey will, I think, show that from the earliest times the whole of this region has formed part of the Caucasian domain; that the bulk of the indigenous populations must have belonged to the dark, round-headed Alpine type; that these, still found in compact masses in many places, were apparently conquered, but certainly Aryanised in speech, in very remote prehistoric times by long-headed blond Aryans of the IRANIC and GALCHIC branches, who arrived in large numbers from the contiguous Eurasian

steppe, mingled generally with the brachy aborigines, but also kept aloof in several districts, where they still survive with more or less modified proto-Aryan features. Thus we are at once struck by the remarkable fact that absolute uniformity of speech, always apart from late Mongol intrusions, has prevailed during the historic period throughout Irania, which has been in this respect as completely Aryanised as Europe itself; and further, that all current Aryan tongues, with perhaps one trifling exception¹, are members either of the Iranic or the Galchic branch of the family. Both Iranic and Galchic are thus rather linguistic than ethnic terms, and so true is this that a philologist always knows what is meant by an Iranic language, while the anthropologist is unable to define or form any clear conception of an Iranian, who may be either of long-headed Nordic or round-headed Alpine type. Here confusion may be avoided by reserving the historic name of PERSIAN² for the former, and comprising all the Alpines under the also time-honoured though less known name of TAJIKS.

Khanikoff has shown that these Tajiks constitute the primitive element in ancient Irán. To the true Persians of the west, as well as to the kindred Afghans in the east, both of dolicho type, the term is rarely applied. But almost everywhere the sedentary and agricultural aborigines are called Tajiks, and are spoken of as *Parsiván*, that is, *Parsizabán*³, "of Persian speech," or else *Dihkán*⁴, that is, "Peasants," all being mainly husbandmen "of Persian race and tongue⁴." They form endless tribal, or at least social, groups, who keep somewhat aloof from their proto-Aryan conquerors, so that, in the east especially, the

¹ The *Yagnobi* of the river of like name, an affluent of the Zerafshan; yet even this shows lexical affinities with Iranic, while its structure seems to connect it with Leitner's *Kajuna* and Biddulph's *Burish*, a non-Aryan tongue current in Ghilghit, Yasin, Hunza and Nagar, whose inhabitants are regarded by Biddulph as descendants of the *Yué-chi*. The *Yagnobi* themselves, however, are distinctly Alpines, somewhat short, very hirsute and brown, with broad face, large head, and a Savoyard expression. They have the curious custom of never cutting but always breaking their bread, the use of the knife being sure to raise the price of flour.

² F. v. Luschan points out that very little is known of the anthropology of Persia. "In a land inhabited by about ten millions not more than twenty or thirty men have been regularly measured and not one skull has been studied." The old type preserved in the *Parsi* is short-headed and dark. "The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLI. 1911, p. 233.

³ *Dih, deh*, village. *Zabán*, tongue, language.

⁴ H. Walter, *From Indus to Tigris*, p. 16. Of course this traveller refers only to the Tajiks of the plateau (Persia, Afghanistan). Of the Galchic Tajiks he knew nothing; nor indeed is the distinction even yet quite understood by European ethnologists.

ethnic fusion is far from complete, the various sections of the community being still rather juxtaposed than fused in a single nationality. When to these primeval differences is added the tribal system still surviving in full vigour amongst the intruding Afghans themselves, we see how impossible it is yet to speak of an Afghan nation, but only of heterogeneous masses loosely held together by the paramount tribe—at present the *Durani* of Kabul. Afghans.

The Tajiks are first mentioned by Herodotus, whose *Dadikes*¹ are identified by Hammer and Khanikoff with them². They are now commonly divided into Lowland, and Highland or Hill Tajiks, of whom the former were always Parsiván, whereas the Hill Tajiks did not originally speak Persian at all, but, as many still do, an independent sister language called Galchic, current in the Pamir, Zerafshan and Sir-darya uplands, and holding a somewhat intermediate position between the Iranian and Indic branches.

This term Galcha, although new to science, has long been applied to the Aryans of the Pamir valleys, being identified with the *Calcienses populi* of the lay Jesuit Benedict Goetz, who crossed the Pamir in 1603, and describes them as “of light hair and beard like the Belgians.” Meyendorff also calls those of Zerafshan “Eastern Persians, Galchi, Galchas.” The word has been explained to mean “the hungry raven who has withdrawn to the mountains,” probably in reference to those Lowland Tajiks who took refuge in the uplands from the predatory Turki hordes. But it is no doubt the Persian *galcha*, a peasant or clown, then a vagabond, etc., whence *galchagi*, rudeness. The Galcha.

As shown by J. Biddulph³, the tribes of Galchic speech range over both slopes of the Hindu-Kush, comprising the natives of Sarakol, Wakhan, Shignan, Munjan (with the Yidoks of the Upper Lud-kho or Chitral river), Sanglich, and Ishkashim. To these he is inclined to add the Pakhpus and the Shakshus of the Upper Yarkand-darya, as well as those of the Kocha valley, with whom must now be included the Zerafshan Galchas (Maghians, Kshtuts, Falghars, Machas and Fans), but not the Yagnobis. All these form also one ethnic

¹ III. 91.

² Even Ptolemy's *πάσιχαι* appear to be the same people, *π* being an error for *τ*, so that *τάσιχαι* would be the nearest possible Greek transcription of *Tajik*.

³ *Tribes of the Hindoo-Koosh*, 1880, *passim*.

group of Alpine type, with whom on linguistic grounds Biddulph also includes two other groups, the Khos of Chitral with the Siah Posh of Kafiristan, and the Shíns (Dards), Górs, Chilási and other small tribes of the Upper Indus and side valleys, all these apparently being long-heads of the blond Aryan type. Keeping this distinction in view, Biddulph's valuable treatise on the Hindu-Kush populations may be followed with safety. He traces the Galcha idioms generally to the old Baktrian (East Persia, so-called "Zend Avesta"), the Shín however leaning closely to Sanskrit, while Khowar, the speech of the Chitrali (Khos), is intermediate between Baktrian and Sanskrit. But differences prevail on these details, which will give occupation to philologists for some time to come.

Speaking generally, all the Galchas of the northern slopes (most of Biddulph's first group) are physically connected with all the other Lowland and Hill Tajiks, with whom Galcha and Tajik Types. should also probably be included Elphinstone's¹ southern Tajiks dwelling south of the Hindu-Kush (Kohistani, Berraki, Purmulí or Fermulí, Sirdehi, Sistani, and others scattered over Afghanistan and northern Baluchistan). Their type is pronouncedly Alpine, so much so that they have been spoken of by French anthropologists as "those belated Savoyards of Kohistan²." De Ujfalvy, who has studied them carefully, describes them as tall, brown or bronzed and even white, with ruddy cheeks recalling the Englishman, black or chestnut hair, sometimes red and even light, smooth, wavy or curly, full beard, brown, ruddy or blond (he met two brothers near Penjakend with hair "blanc comme du lin"); brown, blue, or grey eyes, never oblique, long, shapely nose slightly curved, thin, straight lips, oval face, stout, vigorous frame, and round heads with cephalic index as high as 86.50. This description, which is confirmed by Bonvalot and other recent observers, applies to the Darwazi, Wakhi, Badakhshi, and in fact all the groups, so that we have beyond all doubt an eastern extension of the Alpine brachycephalic zone through Armenia and the Bakhtiari uplands to the Central Asiatic highlands, a conclusion confirmed by the explorations of M. A. Stein in Chinese Turkestan and the

¹ *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, 1815.

² "Ces Savoyards attardés du Kohistan" (Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens* etc.).

Pamirs (1900-8)¹. Indeed this Asiatic extension of the Alpine type inclines v. Luschan² to regard the European branch as one offshoot, and the high and narrow ("Hittite") nosed type as another, or rather as a specialised group, of which the Armenians, Persians, Druses, and other sectarian groups of Syria and Asia Minor represent the purest examples. According to his summary of this complicated region "All Western Asia was originally inhabited by a homogeneous melanochroic race, with extreme hypsi-brachycephaly and with a 'Hittite' nose. About 4000 B.C. began a Semitic invasion from the south-east, probably from Arabia, by people looking like the modern Bedawy. Two thousand years later commenced a second invasion, this time from the north-west, by xanthrochroous and long-headed tribes like the modern Kurds, half savage, and in some way or other, perhaps, connected with the historic Harri, Amorites, Tamehu and Galatians³."

But the eventful drama is not yet closed. Arrested perhaps for a time by the barrier of the Hindu-Kush and Sulimán ranges, proto-Aryan conquerors burst at last, probably through the Kabul river gorges, on to the plains of India, and thereby added another world to the Caucasian domain. Here they were brought face to face with new conditions, which gave rise to fresh changes and adaptations resulting in the present ethnical relations in the peninsula. There is good reason to think that in this region the leavening Aryan element never was numerous, while even on their first arrival the Aryan invaders found the land already somewhat thickly peopled by the aborigines⁴.

The marked linguistic and ethnical differences between Eastern and Western Hindustan have given rise to the theory of two separate streams of immigration, perhaps continued

Ethnic Re-
lations in
India.

¹ The anthropological data are dealt with by T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Physical Anthropology of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLII. 1912. "The original inhabitant...is that type of man described by Lapouge as *Homo Alpinus*," p. 468.

² F. v. Luschan, "The Early Inhabitants of Asia," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLI. 1911, p. 243.

³ For the evidence of the extension of this element in East Central Asia see Ch. IX.

⁴ R. B. Foote, *Madras Government Museum. The Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities. Notes on their ages and distribution*, 1916, is the most recent contribution to the prehistoric period, but the conclusions are not universally accepted.

over many centuries¹. The earlier entered from the north-west, bringing their herds and families with them, whose descendants are the homogeneous and handsome populations of the Punjab and Rajputana. Later swarms entered by way of the difficult passes of Gilgit and Chitral, a route which made it impossible for their women to accompany them. "Here they came in contact with the Dravidians; here by the stress of that contact caste was evolved; here the Vedas were composed and the whole fantastic structure of orthodox ritual and usage was built up.... The men of the stronger race took to themselves women of the weaker, and from these unions was evolved the mixed type which we find in Hindustan and Bihar²."

An attempt to analyse the complicated ethnic elements contained in the vast area of India was made by H. H. Risley³, who recognised seven types, his classification being based on theories of origin.

1. The TURKO-IRANIAN type, including the *Baloch*, *Brahui*, and *Afghans* of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Provinces, all Muhammadans, with broad head, long prominent nose, abundant hair, fair complexion and tall stature.

2. INDO-ARYAN type in the Punjab, Rajputana and Kashmir, with its most conspicuous members the *Rájputs*, *Khatri* and *Játs* in all but colour closely resembling the European type and showing little difference between upper and lower social strata. Their characteristics are tall stature, fair complexion, plentiful hair on face, long head, and narrow prominent nose.

3. ARYO-DRAVIDIAN or Hindustani type in the United Provinces, parts of Rajputana, Bihar, and Ceylon, with lower stature, variable complexion, longish head, and a nose index exactly corresponding to social station.

4. SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN of Western India, including the *Maratha Brahmans*, *Kunbi*, and *Coorgs*, of medium stature, fair complexion, broad head with scanty hair on the face, and a fine nose.

¹ A. F. R. Hoernle, *A Grammar of Eastern Hindi compared with the other Gaudian Languages*, 1880, first suggested (p. xxxi. ff.) the distinction between the languages of the Midland and the Outer Band, which has been corroborated by G. A. Grierson, *Languages of India*, 1903, p. 51; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1907-8, Vol. I. pp. 357-8.

² H. H. Risley, *The People of India*, 1908, p. 54. See also J. D. Anderson, *The Peoples of India*, 1913, p. 27.

³ *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* etc. 1892, *Indian Census Report*, 1901, and *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. I. ch. VI.

5. DRAVIDIAN, generally regarded as representing the indigenous element. The characteristics are fairly uniform from Ceylon to the Ganges valley throughout Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, Central India and Chota Nagpur, and the name is now used to include the mass of the population unaffected by foreign (Aryan, Scythian, Mongoloid) immigration. The *Nairs* of Malabar and the *Santal* of Chota Nagpur are typical representatives. The stature is short, complexion very dark, almost black, hair plentiful with a tendency to curl, head long and nose very broad¹.

6. MONGOLO-DRAVIDIAN or Bengali type of Bengal and Orissa, showing fusion with Tibeto-Burman elements. The stature is medium, complexion dark, and head conspicuously broad, nose variable.

7. MONGOLOID of the Himalayas, Nepal, Assam, and Burma, represented by the *Kanet* of Lahoul and Kulu, the *Lepcha* of Darjiling, the *Limbu*, *Murmi* and *Gurung* of Nepal, the *Bodo* of Assam and the *Burmese*. The stature is short, the complexion dark with a yellowish tinge, the hair on the face scanty. The head is broad with characteristic flat face and frequently oblique eyes.

This classification while more or less generally adopted in outline is not allowed to pass unchallenged, especially with regard to the theories of origin implied. Concerning the brachycephalic element of Western India Risley's belief that it was the result of so-called "Scythian" invasions is not supported by sufficient evidence. "The foreign element is certainly Alpine, not Mongolian, and it may be due to a migration of which the history has not been written." Ramaprasad Chanda² goes further and traces the broad-headed elements in both "Scytho-Dravidians" (Gujaratis, Marathas and Coorgs) and "Mongolo-Dravidians" (Bengalis and Oriyas) to one common source, "the *Homo alpinus* of the Pamirs and Chinese Turkestan," and attempts to reconstruct the history of the migration of the Alpine invaders from Central Asia over Gujarat, Deccan, Bihar and Bengal. His conclusions are supported by the reports of Sir Aurel Stein of the *Homo Alpinus* type discovered in the region of Lob Nor,

¹ The jungle tribes of this group, such as the *Paniyan*, *Kurumba* and *Irula* are classed as PRE-DRAVIDIAN. See chap. XII.

² A. C. Haddon, *Wanderings of Peoples*, 1911, p. 27.

³ *The Indo-Aryan Races*, 1916, pp. 65-71 and 75-78.

dating from the first centuries A.D. This type "still supplies the prevalent element in the racial constitution of the indigenous population of Chinese Turkestan, and is seen in its purest form in the Iranian-speaking tribes near the Pamirs¹."

But any scheme of classification must be merely tentative, subject to modification as statistics of the vast area are gradually collected. And W. Crooke², while acknowledging the value of Risley's scheme³ points out the need of caution in accepting measurements of skull and nose forms applied to the mixed races and half-breeds which form the majority of the people. "The race migrations are all prehistoric, and the amalgamation of the races has continued for ages among a people to whom moral restraints are irksome and unfamiliar. The existing castes are quite a modern creation, dating only from the later Buddhist age." "The present population thus represents the flotsam and jetsam collected from many streams of ethnical movement, and any attempt to sort out the existing races into a set of pigeon-holes, each representing a defined type of race, is, in the present state of our knowledge, impossible⁴."

In features, says Dalton, the Kols⁵ show "much variety, and I think in a great many families there is a considerable admixture of Aryan blood. Many have high noses and oval faces, and young girls are at times

The Kols.

¹ "A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia 1913-16," *Geog. Journ.* 1916.
² *Natives of Northern India*, 1907, pp. 19, 24. See also his article "Rājputs and Marāthas," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XL. 1910.

³ "His report, compiled during the inevitable distractions incident to the enumeration of a population of some 300 millions, was a notable performance, and will remain one of the classics of Indian anthropology." "The Stability of Caste and Tribal Groups in India," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* XLIV. 1914, p. 270.

⁴ A vast amount of material has been collected in recent years besides *Ethnographical Surveys* of the various provinces, the *Imperial Gazetteer* of 1909, and the magnificent *Census Reports* of 1901 and 1911. Some of the more important works are as follows:—H. H. Risley, *Ethnography of India*, 1903, *The People of India*, 1908; E. Thurston, *Ethnographical Notes on Southern India*, 1906, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 1909; H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province*, 1911; E. A. de Brett, *Gazetteer, Chhatisgarh Feudatory States*, 1909; C. E. Luard, *Ethnographic Survey, Central India*, 1909; L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, 1909, *Tribes and Castes of Cochin*, 1912; M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race*, 1904; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, 1906; P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, 1907; T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheids*, 1908, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911; E. Stack and C. J. Lyall, *The Mikirs*, 1908; A. Playfair, *The Garos*, 1909; S. Endle, *The Kacharis*, 1911; C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, *The Veddas*, 1911; J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, 1912; S. Chandra Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, 1912, *The Oraons*, 1915; and R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Central Provinces*, 1916.

⁵ The term *Kol*, which occurs as an element in a great many tribal names, and was first introduced by Campbell in a collective sense (1866), is of unknown origin, but probably connected with a root meaning "Man" (W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, III. p. 294).

met with who have delicate and regular features, finely-chiselled straight noses, and perfectly formed mouths and chins. The eyes, however, are seldom so large, so bright, and gazelle-like as those of pure Hindu maidens, and I have met strongly marked Mongolian features. In colour they vary greatly, the copper tints being about the most common [though the Mirzapur Kols are very dark]. Eyes dark brown, hair black, straight or wavy [as all over India]. Both men and women are noticeable for their fine, erect carriage and long, free stride¹."

The same variations are found among the Dravidians, where, as should be expected, there are many aberrant groups showing divergences in all directions, as amongst the *Kurumba* and *Toda* of the Nilgiris, the former approximating to the Mongol, the latter to the Aryan standard. W. Sikemeier, who lived amongst them for years, notes that "many of the Kurumbas have decided Mongoloid face and stature, and appear to be the aborigines of that region²." The same correspondent adds that much nonsense has been written about the Todas, who have become the trump card of popular ethnographers. "Being ransacked by European visitors they invent all kinds of traditions, which they found out their questioners liked to get, and for which they were paid." Still the type is remarkable and strikingly European, "well proportioned and stalwart, with straight nose, regular features and perfect teeth," the chief characteristic being the development of the hairy system, less however than amongst the Ainu, whom they so closely resemble³. From the illustrations given in Thurston's valuable series one might be tempted to infer that a group of proto-Aryans had reached this extreme limit of their Asiatic domain, and although W. H. R. Rivers has cleared away the mystery and established links between the Todas and tribes of Malabar and Travancore, the problem of their origin is not yet entirely solved⁴.

The Dravidians occupy the greater part of the Deccan, where they are constituted in a few great nations—Telugus (Telingas), Tamils (numbers of whom have crossed into Ceylon and occupied the northern and central parts of that island, working in the coffee districts), Kanarese, and the Malayalim

¹ *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 190.

² In a letter to the author, June 18, 1895.

³ Edgar Thurston, *Anthropology* etc., Bul. 4, Madras, 1896, pp. 147-8. For fuller details see his *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, 1909.

⁴ *The Todas*, 1906. See chap. xxx. "The Origin and History of the Todas."

of the west coast. These with some others were brought at an early date under Aryan (Hindu) influences, but have preserved their highly agglutinating Dravidian speech, which has no known affinities elsewhere, unless perhaps with the language of the Brahuis, who are regarded by many as belated Dravidians left behind in East Baluchistan.

But for this very old, but highly cultivated Dravidian language, which is still spoken by about 54 millions between the Ganges and Ceylon, it would no longer be possible to distinguish these southern Hindus from those of Aryan speech who occupy all the rest of the peninsula together with the southern slopes of the Hindu-Kush and parts of the western Himalayas. Their main divisions are the Kashmiri, many of whom might be called typical Aryans; the Punjabis with several sub-groups, amongst which are the Sikhs, religious sectaries half Moslem half Hindu, also of magnificent physique; the Gujaratis, Mahratis, Hindis, Bengalis, Assamis, and Oraons of Orissa, all speaking Neo-Sanskritic idioms, which collectively constitute the Indic branch of the Aryan family. Hindustani or Urdu, a simplified form of Hindi current especially in the Doab, or "Two waters," the region between the Ganges and Jumna above Allahabad, has become a sort of *lingua franca*, the chief medium of intercourse throughout the peninsula, and is understood by certainly over 100 millions, while all the population of Neo-Sanskritic speech numbered in 1898 considerably over 200 millions.

Classification derives little help from the consideration of caste, whatever view be taken of the origin of this institution.

The Hindu
Castes.

The rather obvious theory that it was introduced by the handful of Aryan conquerors to prevent the submergence of the race in the great ocean of black or dark aborigines, is now rejected by many investigators, who hold that its origin is occupational, a question rather of social or industrial pursuits becoming hereditary in family groups than of race distinctions sanctioned by religion. They point out that the commentator's interpretation of the *Pancha Ksitaya*, "Five Classes," as *Bráhmans* (priests), *Kshatriyas* (fighters), *Vaisya* (traders), *Sudra* (peasants and craftsmen of all kinds), and *Nisháda* (savages or outcasts) is recent, and conveys only the current sentiment of the age. It never had any substantial base, and even in the comparatively late Institutes of Manu "the rules of food, connubium

and intercourse between the various castes are very different from what we find at present"; also that, far from being eternal and changeless, caste has been subject to endless modifications throughout the whole range of Hindu myth and history. Nor is it an institution peculiar to India, while even here the stereotyped four or five divisions neither accord with existing facts, nor correspond to so many distinct ethnical groups.

All this is perfectly true, and it is also true that for generations the recognised castes, say, social pursuits, have been in a state of constant flux, incessantly undergoing processes of segmentation, so that their number is at present past counting. Nevertheless, the system may have been, and probably was, first inspired by racial motives, an instinctive sense of self-preservation, which expressed itself in an informal way by local class distinctions which were afterwards sanctioned by religion, but eventually broke down or degenerated into the present relations under the outward pressure of imperious social necessities¹.

Beyond the mainland and Ceylon no Caucasian peoples of Aryan speech are known to have ranged in neolithic or prehistoric times. But we have already followed the migrations of a kindred², though mixed race, here called **INDONESIANS**, into Malaysia, the Philippines, Formosa, and the Japanese Archipelago, which they must have occupied in the New Stone Age. Here there occurs a great break, for they are not again met till we reach Micronesia and the still more remote insular groups beyond Melanesia. In Micronesia the relations are extremely confused, because, as it seems, this group had already been occupied by the Papuans from New Guinea before the arrival of the Indonesians, while after their arrival they were followed at intervals by Malays perhaps from the Philippines and Formosa, and still later by Japanese, if not also by Chinese from the mainland. Hence the types are here as varied as the colour, which appears, going eastwards, to shade off from the dark brown of the Pelew and Caroline Islanders to the light brown of the Marshall and Gilbert groups,

Oceanic
Indonesians.

Micronesians.

¹ For the discussion of Caste see E. A. Gait's article in *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, 1910, with bibliography; also V. A. Smith, *Caste in India, East and West*, 1913.

² See Ch. VII.

where we already touch upon the skirts of the true Indonesian domain¹.

A line drawn athwart the Pacific from New Zealand through Fiji to Hawaii will roughly cut off this domain from the rest of the Oceanic world, where all to the west is Melanesian, Papuan or mixed, while all to the right—*Maori*, some of the eastern *Fijians*, *Tongans*, *Samoans*, *Tahitians*, *Marquesans*, *Hawaiians* and *Easter Islanders*—is grouped under the name POLYNESIAN, a type produced by a mixture of Proto-Malayan and Indonesian. Dolichocephaly and mesaticephaly prevail throughout the region, but there are brachycephalic centres in Tonga, the Marquesas and Hawaiian Islands. The hair is mostly black and straight, but also wavy, though never frizzly or even kinky. The colour also is of a light brown compared to cinnamon or café-au-lait, and sometimes approaching an almost white shade, while the tall stature averages 1·72 m. (5 ft. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins.).

Migrating at an unknown date eastwards from the East Indian archipelago², the first permanent settlements appear to have been formed in Samoa, and more particularly in the island of *Savaii*, originally *Savaiiki*, which name under divers forms and still more divers meanings accompanied all their subsequent migrations over the Pacific waters. Thus we have in Tahiti *Havaii*³, the “universe,” and the old capital of Raiatea; in Rarotonga *Avaiiki*, “the land under the wind”; in New Zealand *Hawaiki*, “the land whence came the Maori”; in the Marquesas *Hawaiki*, “the lower regions of the dead,” as in *to fenua Hawaiki*, “return to the land of thy forefathers,” the words with which the victims in human sacrifices were speeded to the other world; lastly in *Hawaii*, the name of the chief island of the Sandwich group.

The Polynesians are cheerful, dignified, polite, imaginative and intelligent, varying in temperament between the wild and energetic and politically capable Maori to his indolent and politically sterile kinsmen to the north, who have been unnerved by the unvarying

Polynesian
Culture.

¹ See A. Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa*, 1906.

² For Polynesian wanderings see S. Percy Smith, *Hawaiki: the original home of the Maori*, 1904; J. M. Brown, *Maori and Polynesian; their origin, history and culture*, 1907; W. Churchill, *The Polynesian Wanderings*, 1911.

³ *H* everywhere takes the place of *S*, which is preserved only in the Samoan mother-tongue; cf. Gr. *ἐπτά* with Lat. *septem*, Eng. *seven*.

uniformity of temperature. Wherever possible, they are agriculturalists, growing yams, sweet potatoes and taro. Coconuts, bread-fruit and bananas form the staple food in many islands. Scantily endowed with fertile soil and edible plants the Polynesians have gained command over the sea which everywhere surrounds them, and have developed into the best seamen among primitive races. Large sailing double canoes were formerly in use, and single canoes with an outrigger are still made. Native costume for men is made of bark cloth, and for women ample petticoats of split and plaited leaves. Ornaments, with the exception of flowers, are sparingly worn. The bow and arrow are unknown, short spears, clubs and slings are used, but no shields. The arts of writing, pottery making, loom-weaving and the use of metals were, with few exceptions, unknown, but mat-making, basketry and the making of *tapa* were carried to a high pitch, and Polynesian bark-cloth is the finest in the world.

Throughout Polynesia the community is divided into nobles or chiefs, freemen and slaves, which divisions are, by reason of *tabu*, as sharp as those of caste. They fall into those which participate in the divine, and those which are wholly excluded from it. Women have a high position, and men do their fair share of work. Polygyny is universal, being limited only by the wealth of the husband, or the numerical preponderance of the men. Priests have considerable influence, there are numerous gods, sometimes worshipped in the outward form of idols, and ancestors are deified.

Polynesian culture has been analysed by W. H. R. Rivers¹, and the following briefly summarises his results. At first sight the culture appears very simple, especially as regards language and social structure, while there is a considerable degree of uniformity in religious belief. Everywhere we find the same kind of higher being or god and the resemblance extends even to the name, usually some form of the word *atua*. In material culture also there are striking similarities, though here the variations are more definite and obvious, and the apparent uniformity is probably due to the attention given to the customs of chiefs, overlooking the culture of the ordinary people where more diversity is discoverable.

There is much that points to the twofold nature of Polynesian culture. The evidence from the study of the ritual

¹ *The History of Melanesian Society*, 1914.

indicates the présence of two peoples, an earlier who interred their dead in a sitting posture like the dual people of Melanesia¹, and a later, who became chiefs and believed in the need for the preservation of the dead among the living. All the evidence available, physical and cultural, points to the conjecture that the early stratum of the population of Polynesia was formed by an immigrant people who also found their way to Melanesia.

The later stream of settlers can be identified with the kava-people¹. Kava was drunk especially by the chiefs, and the accompanying ceremonial shows its connection with the higher ranks of the people. The close association of the *Areoi* (secret society) of eastern Polynesia with the chiefs is further proof. Thus both in Melanesia and in Polynesia the chiefs who preserved their dead are identified with the founders of secret societies—organisations which came into being through the desire of an immigrant people to practise their religious rites in secret. Burial in the extended position occurs in Tikopia, Tonga and Samoa—perhaps it may have been the custom of some special group of the kava-people. Chiefs were placed in vaults constructed of large stones—a feature unknown elsewhere in Oceania. It is safe also to ascribe the human design which has undergone conventionalisation in Polynesia to the kava-people. The geometric art through which the conventionalisation was produced belonged to the earlier inhabitants who interred their dead in the sitting position.

Money, if it exists at all, occupies a very unimportant place in the culture of the people. There is no evidence of the use of

**Polynesian
Communism.** any object in Polynesia with the definite scale of values which is possessed by several kinds of money in Melanesia. The Polynesians are

largely communistic, probably more so than the Melanesians, and afford one of the best examples of communism in property with which we are acquainted. This feature may be ascribed to the earlier settlers. The suggestion that the kava-people never formed independent communities in Polynesia, but were accepted at once as chiefs of those among whom they settled would account for the absence of money (for which there was no need), and the failure to disturb in any great measure the communism of the earlier inhabitants. Communism in property was associated with sexual communism. There is evidence that Polynesian chiefs rarely had more than one wife, while

¹ Cf. p. 139 ff.

the licentiousness which probably stood in a definite relation to the communism of the people is said to have been more pronounced among the lower strata of the community. Both communism and licentiousness appear to have been much less marked in the Samoan and Tongan islands, and here there is no evidence of interment in the sitting position. These and other facts support the view that the influence of the kava-people was greater here than in the more eastern islands: probably it was greatest in Tikopia, which in many respects differs from other parts of Polynesia.

Magic is altogether absent from the culture of Tikopia and it probably took a relatively unimportant place throughout Polynesia. In Tikopia the ghosts of dead ancestors and relatives as well as animals are *atua* and this connotation of the word appears to be general in other parts of Polynesia. These may be regarded as the representatives of the ghosts and spirits of Melanesia. The *vui* of Melanesia may be represented by the *tii* of Tahiti, beings not greatly respected, who had to some extent a local character. This comparison suggests that the ancestral ghosts belong to the culture of the kava-people, and that the local spirits are derived from the culture of the people who interred their dead in the sitting position, from which people the dual people of Melanesia derived their beliefs and practices.

Magic and
Religion.

To sum up. Polynesian culture is made up of at least two elements, an earlier, associated with the practice of interring the dead in a sitting position, communism, geometric art, local spirits and magical rites, and a later, which practised preservation of the dead. These latter may be identified with the kava-people while the earlier Polynesian stratum is that which entered into the composition of the dual-people of Melanesia at a still earlier date, and introduced the Austronesian language into Oceania¹.

¹ Among recent works on Polynesia see H. Mager, *Le Monde polynésien*, 1902; B. H. Thomson, *Savage Island*, 1902; A. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, 1902; J. M. Brown, *Maori and Polynesian*, 1907; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, 1910; F. W. Christian, *Eastern Pacific Islands*, 1910.